

Roman Berytus

BEIRUT IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Linda Jones Hall

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Dedicated to the memory of
my mother
Zona Sears Jones
(February 21, 1918–December 9, 1994)
and
my first Latin teacher
Helen Dannettelle Kesler
(February 24, 1902–June 6, 1983)

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PREFACE

This book presents a social history of Berytus (Beirut) from the third through sixth centuries AD, when the city was known as the "'most Roman" city in the East.' I have attempted to recontruct the city as it existed in those centuries when many students came from distant areas to study jurisprudence and Latin. Furthermore, the law professors appear not only to have influenced future jurists who came to Berytus but also to have been involved in the framing of Justinian's Code, the lasting formulation of Roman law assembled in Constantinople. An exploration of the urban milieu which shaped the self-concepts of these jurists and of ordinary citizens should improve our understanding not only of Roman law but also of life in Late Antique cities of the Greek East.

As an urban history, this book presents aspects of the geographical setting, the political past, the physical layout of the city, the administrative structures, and the economic bases of trade, agriculture, and textile production. As a social history, the work studies such self-identifiers as cultural heritage, ethnic identification, religious practice and belief (pagan and Christian), and occupational identity.

In reconstructing the social history of Berytus, the technique of threedimensional graphing seemed a good intellectual model. Bits of data from Berytus and the neighboring cities, especially Tyre, were fitted together to produce a picture of life in the city from the time of Augustus to Justinian. Numerous primary texts and inscriptions provide the evidence for this study.

To reconstruct the self-identity of the inhabitants of Berytus, three types of questions were asked of the evidence. First, what did people say about themselves? Naming practices, declarative statements ('I am…'), and associative linkages ('I favor…') are particularly significant. Second, what did other people say about these individuals ('He/she is…')? Did the person so characterized seem to accept the label or category? Third, did individuals act in such a way as to create new categories or definitions?

Several categories of self-identification are closely studied. Ethnic identity as 'Phoenician,' 'Roman,' 'Hellene,' or some other *ethnos* is probed. Occupational status, particularly of the lawyers and artisans, is examined. Religious identification is traced in various accounts of pagans, saints, and bishops associated with Berytus. The setting of the city and the self-view of the residents

shaped the role of Berytus as an ‘outpost of empire’ and thereby influenced the attitudes of the compilers of legal codes in the East and the West.

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I first became interested in Beirut in the mid-1970s when I worked in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. My friend Fadia Hourani made the city come alive for me, even in the midst of the terrible civil war then going on in Lebanon. The original seminar paper which formed the nucleus of the paper (geographical and political

background) was written in a course on Urban History taught by Dr David Carr and Dr Raymond Arsenault of the University of South Florida at St Petersburg in 1989. The course might aptly have been subtitled 'From Babylon to Boston' and surveyed various methologies for reconstructing the history of a city—ancient, medieval, or modern. In addition, I met in St Petersburg several natives of Beirut who shared bibliography with me and opened the door to further research. This research was brought to full fruition, however, under the supervision of Dr Timothy E.Gregory at The Ohio State University in a year-long seminar on Late Antiquity, a course on the Ancient City, and an individualized readings course on Syria in the 1990s.

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photograph of a Roman sarcophagus from Beirut, known as the 'Syrian sarcophagus (30726a). Thanks is also expressed to Dr Elena Stolyarik of the American Numismatic Society for permission to reproduce the photographs of the following coins: Augustus as founder of the colony (ANS1944.100.70218), coin of Julia Domna with the temple of Astarte (ANS1944.100.72325), and a coin of Gordian III with COL BER and two legionary eagles. Dr Stolyarik also gave permission for me to reproduce an appendix I created from an online listing of the coins from Beirut which are held by the American Numismatic Society.

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ABBREVIATIONS

[Abbreviations not listed here are those of the OCD3 (*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd edn) and of the *PLRE (The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire)*]

A&A	*Antike und Abendland*
AAS	*Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie: Revue d'Archéologique et d'Histoire,* vols 1–17
AAAS	*Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes: Revue d'Archéologique et d'Histoire,* vol.18
ACD	*Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Dehreceniensis*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum,* E.Schwartz and J.Straub (eds), 4 vols in 14, Berlin, 1914–83
AE	*L'année épigraphique*
AIEMA	*Bulletin d'information de l'Association internationale pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique,* Paris, 1968–
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
Annales	*Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations,* Paris
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* H.Temporini (ed.), Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972–
AnTard	*Antiquité Tardive,* Paris
BAAL	*Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*
BAssBudé	*Bulletin de l'Association de Guillaume Budé*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique*
Berytus	*Berytus: Archaeological Studies,* Beirut

Beth She'arim	*Beth She'arim,* M.Schwabe and B.Lifshitz (eds), vol. II: *The Greek Inscriptions,* New Brunswick, 1974
BiblArch	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
Brünnow	Brünnow, R.E., and von Domaszewski, A., *Die Provincia Arabia,* 3 vols, Strassburg, 1904–9
Byzantion	*Byzantion: Revue internationale des études byzantines*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik,* Amsterdam
ByzSlav	*Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines,* Praha
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* Munich
CArch	*Cahiers archéologiques: fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge,* Paris
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIC	*Corpus Iuris Civilis,* T.Mommsen, P.Krueger, *et al.* (eds), 3 vols, Berlin, 1928–9
CIETA	*Bulletin du Centre International d'Etudes des Textiles Anciens*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CMO	*Collection de la Maison de l'Orient*
CNRS	*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*
Cod. Just.	*Codex Justinianus,* in vol. 2, *CIC*
Cod. Theod.	*Codex Theodosianus,* T.Mommsen and P.M.Meyer (eds), 2 vols in 3 pts, Berlin, 1905; English translation by Clyde Pharr *et al., The Theodosian Code and Novels and Sirmondian Constitutions,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belleslettres*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiaticorum Latinorum*

CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
Digest	*Digesta,* in vol. 1, *CIC*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Edict. Diocl.	*Edictum Diocletiani,* ed. S.Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt,* Texte und Kommentare 5, Berlin 1971
EI(1)	*Encyclopedia of Islam,* 1st edn, M.T.Houtsma *et al.* (eds), Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1913–34; with supplement, 1938
EI(2)	*Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd edn, H.A.R.Gibb *et al.* (eds), Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1960–
Ep.	*Epistula*
Epp.	*Epistulae*
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GBA	*Gazette des beaux-arts*
GCS	*Die griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*
GOTR	*The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica*
Historia	*Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift,* Munich
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	*Inscriptiones grecques*
IGLS	*Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
ILAfr.	R.Cagnat, A.Merlin, L.Chatelain, *Inscriptiones latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Maroc),* Paris, 1923
ILCV	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für* Antike *und Christentum*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near East Society of Columbia University*

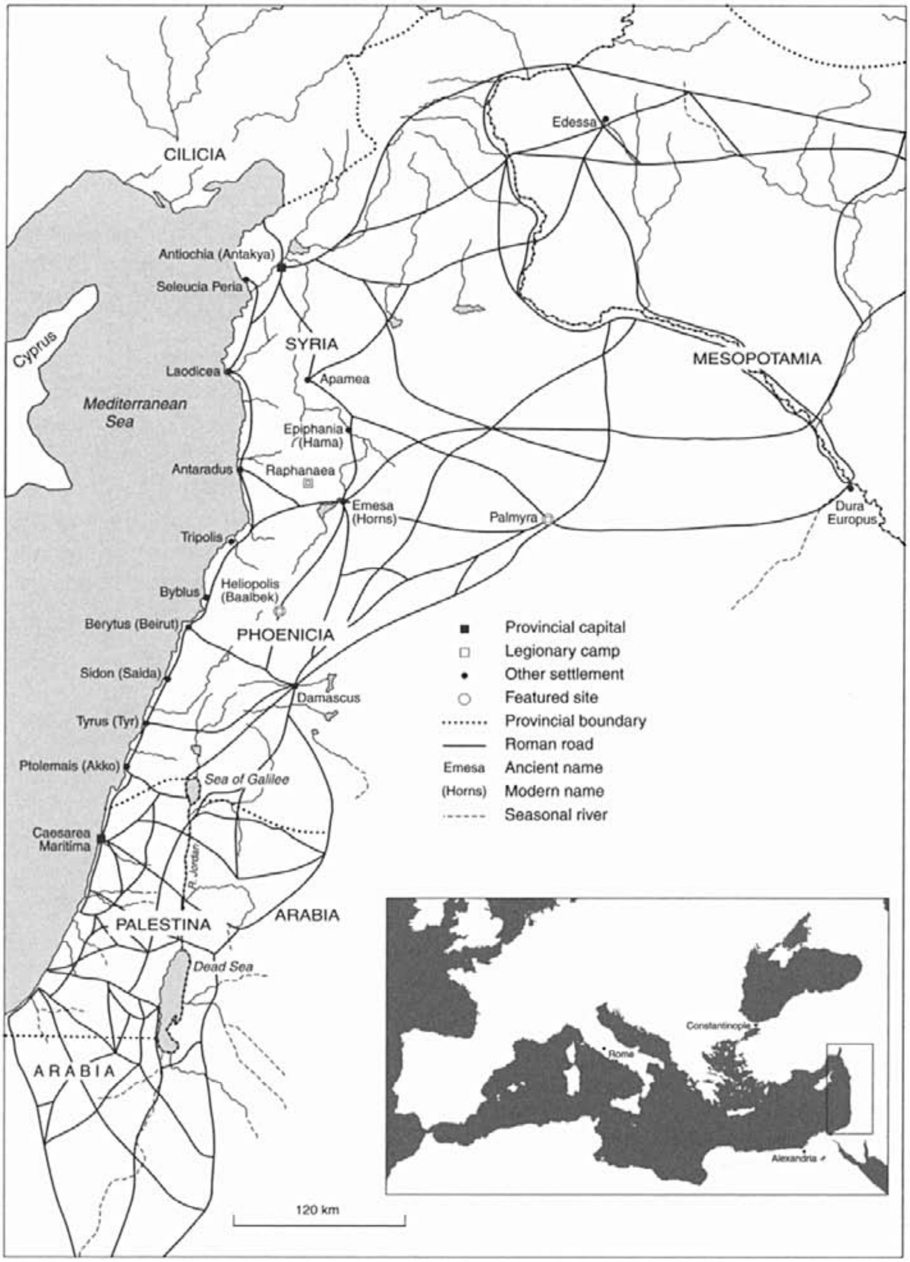
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JOB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Latomus	*Latomus: revue d'études latines*
LibSt	*Libyan Studies*
MAI	*Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
MFO	*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale,* Beirut
MusB	*Musée belge*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph,* Beirut
NMN	*National Museum News,* Beirut
OCD3	*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd edn
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* A.Kazhdan *et al.* (eds), 3 vols, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
P&P	*Past and Present*
PAES	*Publications of the Princeton Archeological Expeditions to Syria*
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PBerol.	*Papyrus Berolennsis*
PColt	*Papyrus Colt* in *Excavations at Nessana, conducted by H.D.Colt, Jr,* vol. 3, *Non-literary Papyri,* C.J.Kraemer, Jr (ed.), Princeton, 1958
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PEFQ	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca,* J.-P.Migne (ed.), 161 vols in 166 pts, Paris, 1857–66
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II,* III, 1st edn, by E. Klebs and H.Dessau (1897–8); 2nd edn by E.Groag, A. Stein, et al., 1933-

PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina,* J.-P.Migne (ed.), 221 vols in 222 pts, Paris, 1844–90
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* J.R.Martindale *et al.* (eds), 3 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–92
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
PRyl	*Catalogue of the Greek and Latin papyri in the John Rylands Collection*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
Rép. Epig. Sém.	*Repertoire d'épigraphie semitique* by the Commission du Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, Paris, 1900
Rhist	*Revue historique*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RN	*Revue Numismatique*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SChH	*Studies in Church History*
SDHI	*Studia et documenta historiae et iuris,* Rome
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
Syria	*Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians series
Waddington	W.H.Waddington, (ed.), *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* Paris, 1870 (=P.le Bas and W.H.Waddington, [eds], *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure,* III.6, Paris, 1847–73)
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZSav	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*

Spelling conventions

For names which appear in both Greek and Latin spellings, I have decided to use the Latinized spelling in the text. In the list of primary sources in the bibliography, I have listed in parentheses the Greek spelling or a variant useful for research purposes.

For Arabic names of sites, I have chosen to follow the transliterations which seem to occur most frequently. A reader who wishes to pursue additional research should be flexible about orthography and check several variants. For example, Deir el Qalaa may be found as Der el Kala or Dayr al Qalaa. Similarly, Ba'albek may appear as Baalbak, and Biqa'a may show up as Biqaa or Bekaa. Beit Meri may appear as Bayt Miri, and Ashrafiya may be spelled Achrefiye. The variation results from differing conventions in transliteration adopted by speakers of French, German, and English. I have not attempted to give a 'correct' transliteration; I have only tried to assist the reader by using the most common spelling.



Map of Berytus in its geographical setting

1
INTRODUCTION

From the third through the sixth centuries AD the 'Roman' law schools in Berytus trained numerous legal, bureaucratic, and religious authorities of the Later Roman Empire. The city was known as the 'most Roman city' in the East; Latin inscriptions survived there longer than anywhere else in the Greek-speaking half of the empire, and Latin legal rescripts poured forth from Berytus. Greek at all periods was the language used by all classes in every mode of verbal expression. Yet references to the Phoenician-Punic heritage marked the literary and religious writings of the second and third centuries, and the Syriac language gradually gained importance as a vehicle of theological and historical writings.

This book attempts to present not only an urban history of the city of Berytus but also a reconstruction of the self-identification of the people of Berytus.[1] The physical layout of the city, the geographical setting, the political past, administrative structures, religious belief and organization, and the economic bases of trade, agriculture, and textile production will be presented as in any traditional urban history.[2]

Such self-identifiers as cultural heritage, ethnic identification, religious practice and belief, linguistic choice, naming practices, and literary and artistic expression will be presented also in the context of a social history. However, not only the self-identification of individuals will be considered, but also the expression of solidarity or disagreement with larger social units, such as the provinces and other cities, religious groups, ethnic groups, and occupational alliances.[3]

Placing the historical emphasis on self-identification should alert us to the priorities of the people themselves.[4] Instead of looking for 'structures' in a society, the emphasis will be on listening for self-expression by the members of that society. This technique is not unlike that of an ethnographer, but in this case the interviewees are written sources, with all the pitfalls that a fragmentary record involves.[5] The effort to understand what mattered to the people of Berytus avoids characterizing their culture as *'basempire'* or 'debased' and assumes that they created a city which met their changing values. This approach should lead us to a better understanding of the social influences on the legal codes, the forces involved in conversion from paganism to Christianity, and the collapse of the imperial coalition called the Roman Empire in the face of Islamic 'invasion.'[6]

Historiographical background

A traditional approach to the history of a Late Roman city is well exemplified by J.H.W.G.Liebeschuetz's study *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire.*[7] Drawing on the rich literary sources of Libanius and John Chrysostom, the legal codes, ecclesiastical historians, and the archeological reports, Liebeschuetz's study is balanced and ground-breaking in its presentation of the functioning of the administration of the Late Antique city. Similarly, Ira Lapidus, in his study *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages,* demonstrated how urban history could be written by pressing literary and religious sources for information on the social and administrative organization of the city.[8] These studies, although providing valuable social information, focus on the role of the cities in the setting of Empire. Such an emphasis is part of the long historiographical tradition focusing on the *imperium* exerted by major powers, such as Alexander's Empire, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and of course, the British Empire.[9]

Some historical works about the East have been shaded by a bias that 'Western' was superior to 'Eastern.' Of course, the relentless attacks on 'Syrian' or 'Punic' faults were a *topos* in ancient literature, notably in Cicero, Vergil, and Juvenal.[10] As Edward Said demonstrated in *Orientalism,* the Occidental observer of the Orient brought his own paradigm of excellence with him. For many historians, the contemporary events of their own period suggested that superior 'Western' empires brought unity, order, and harmony to the disparate populations of inferior 'Eastern' societies. For the most blatant expression of Western superiority to 'Oriental' or Levantine culture, Gibbon is *non pareil* in his contempt, deriving in part from his conflating contemporary Ottoman practices with ancient Syrian mores.[11]

Writing in the period of German imperialism which he helped in part to inspire, Mommsen revealed his bias against the native Syrian element in comparison to the outside Greek and Roman influences:

> The interpenetration of the East and Hellenism, which has nowhere been carried out so completely as in Syria, meets us predominantly in the form of the good and noble becoming ruined in the mixture.[12]

Mommsen saw the original Greek culture, Hellenism, as a golden ideal which when combined with other cultures became a debased alloy. Like many other ancient historians of the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, Mommsen was further influenced in his attitudes by the struggle to free Greece from Turkish control. In an atmosphere where anything Greek of the classical period was idealized and any thing non-Greek was scorned, contempt for the Ottoman Empire became politically correct. Linked to this was a distaste for any other culture perceived as primarily Islamic (certainly Arabic culture). Thus, Mommsen conveyed his contempt for both Turks and Arabs in his comment on

the 'utmost luxuriance' of the Syrian 'fertile coastplain north and south of Gaza, [which] neither the Bedouins nor the Pashas have hitherto been able to make desolate.'[13]

As reasonable and thoughtful an historian as A.H.M.Jones could suggest that a major contribution of the Roman Empire was the imposition of a superior culture on 'backward' areas such as Syro-Phoenicia.[14] Citations from virtually any modern historian of the Roman Empire who emphasizes the 'control' and 'unity'[15] that the Roman Empire brought would reveal similar viewpoints which implicitly value the Roman or Greek culture over conquered indigenous cultures.

However, in the period of collapse of western empires after the Second World War, historians have taken new views of factors leading to a 'postcolonial' world. Increasingly, historians have tried to write history from the viewpoint of the native peoples.[16] An effort has been made to trace the rise of indigenous cultures as expressed in linguistic, social, economic, and religious outlets. Some ancient historians who have written with sensitivity to the native element include Rostovtzeff,[17] Bowersock,[18] and Momigliano.[19] In particular, Fergus Millar has addressed issues of cultural identity in a variety of studies.[20]

One especially instructive modern example for historians has been that of Algeria; the inversion of political and linguistic dominance in a very bitter post-colonial struggle has led to a serious examination of relations between 'natives' and 'conquerors.' The Algerians suffered an 'identity crisis' in relation to their French 'masters.' Initially rewarded by advancement socially and administratively for acquiring competence in French language and culture, the Algerians minimized the meaning of their roots in Berber and Arabic language and culture. Schools taught French but not Arabic. But as the hold of the French waned in Algeria, the desire to be part of the Arab world resurfaced. Arabic was taught in the schools; French cultural identification became in some ways a liability. The Algerians had begun to ask themselves who they were culturally and politically; and as the self-identification changed, the use and dominance of language changed.

Algerians had to identify themselves through choice of language; in the period of transition from French to Arabic, it was not uncommon to find ethnic identification as Arabs or Berbers expressed in the French language.[21]

In the study of Berytus, although the greatest part of our written evidence is in Greek and Latin, it is possible to find references to ethnic identity as Berytians or Phoenicians or Syrians expressed in a language of imperial domination.[22] By the end of the period under study, the increased use of Semitic languages, especially Syriac,[23] may suggest a fuller expression of ethnic identification. Such a development of an indigenous language should be of more than passing linguistic interest. The increase in both quantity and quality of written Syriac attests to improved status for the language and the speakers of it. The production of hymns, theological writings, the *Syro-Roman Lawbook,* and religious histories in Syriac suggests an increased identification by the people of Phoenicia and Syria with the Semitic linguistic heritage. It may also indicate a changed social

climate in the part of the Greek East which ‘succumbed’ most readily to the Islamic invasions of the seventh centuries.[24]

Aspects of self-identification

Self-identification by individuals is shaped by many factors. The cultural milieu offers categories into which to fit oneself. These categories are affected by geographical, economic, social, religious, legal, and linguistic constructs of the time and place under consideration. Such constructs may be expressed in legal and social hierarchies,[25] artistic renditions, religious polemic, literary descriptions of ‘native’ and ‘other’ cultures, housing patterns, arrangement of civic and religious space, and multitudinous aspects of the *realité* that affects the *mentalité* of individuals in a particular society.[26] Although it is not likely that someone could identify himself or herself with a category which has not been described in some way before, it is clear that some categories change and new ones do emerge. As more people identify with the changed category, that kind of self-identification expands to include more people. So, for example, the category of ascetic was relatively rare in the early Christian period but became well-known as more persons embraced that self-definition.[27]

Some categories that will be examined in detail in this book include religious (paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in some of its various aspects), social (in particular, the meaning of occupation for class and status), and economic (source of wealth as a cultural definition). To fill in the background, I will of necessity have to present the setting (geographical[28] and political) which affected the social categories with which individuals identified. Issues of gender and family organization, as important as they are, will be addressed only in the context of other issues.[29]

Methodology

In the process of reconstructing the social history of Berytus, the technique of three-dimensional graphing has seemed a good model. Points of data from Berytus can be plotted on a general model of a Romanized city of the Greek East, and additional data can be supplied from cities that are demonstrably comparable.[30] Missing data can be ‘filled in’ from the legal codes, economic and numismatic evidence, and geographical and political background. In addition, the shape of the city has been deduced from the references to buildings and some archeological information. Into this reconstructed city, I have tried to place the people and hear them ‘speak’ through the saints’ lives, and inscriptions. In this emphasis on the total picture of urban life, I have been much influenced by the writings of the French *Annalistes* as they sought to portray life in the villages and cities of medieval France.[31] The ancient historian is always forced to confront the relative paucity of evidence for the earlier period, however.[32]

I have asked three types of questions from the evidence. First, what do people say about themselves in terms of ethnicity, religious identification, and economic and social status? Naming practices, declarative statements ('I am…'), and associative linkages ('I favor…') are particularly significant. Second, what do other people say about these individuals ('He/she is…')? Does the person so characterized seem to accept the label or category? What can we learn about the definitions of the speaker? Third, do individuals act in such a way as to create new categories or definitions? For example, in a period when women were expected to stay at home as wives and mothers, do ascetic women who renounce family life change the categories? Do women who are artisans change the categories?

The category of ethnicity is particularly difficult to address successfully. An excellent recent study by Dorothy Thompson indicates that probing for such evidence enriches our understanding of the complex interactions in ancient cities.[33] The meaning of self-identification by language, city, or *ethnos* for various persons deserves closer scrutiny.[34] Some references seem to result from a massive project of propaganda, such as the Severan dynasty carried out. And yet when a person chooses a category with which to describe himself, it should indicate that he or she accepts that category as part of his/her self-identification. We should look at names like 'Libanius' and 'Romanus'[35] with less casual acceptance and ask ourselves what identity is being constructed or accepted in continuing or choosing such a name (in Greek). Similarly self-identification as 'Berytian,' 'Phoenician,' 'Roman,' 'Hellene,' or some other category will be probed for implication of ethnic allegiance. It should be kept in mind that identification by any one category does not connote or exclude other categories of self-identification.[36]

Naming practices offer additional insights about other aspects of self-identification. A name may reflect assimilation from a local culture to a wider sphere of interaction. For example, various parts of the names might suggest varying roles in a culture; one part of the name could reflect familial association, another part of the name could reflect occupational or social identity. The mixture of languages in a name may reflect simply the familial heritage or suggest individual identification with a wider cultural group. Particularly rich studies along this line of inquiry have been written about the Roman North African naming practices as reflected in inscriptions.[37]

The issue of language choice is not simple because the availability of education in a language could cause an artificial prominence in the written record for the politically dominant language. However, when a word from another language intrudes into a passage or an inscription, the 'foreign' word may suggest an ethnic identifier for the author.[38] Although a person who is concerned with purity of language (adhering to supposed classical standards)[39] might find such 'barbarisms' or 'bastardization' offensive, Fergus Millar has demonstrated, in a series of studies[40] culminating in *The Roman Near East 31 BC to AD 337* (1993), that the 'intruding' words reveal much about ethnic and cultural

identification, especially in inscriptional evidence. Some of Millar's strategies have been extended in this book to the period of Late Antiquity which he has not yet essayed to examine.[41]

Beyond this search for self-identification by ethnic or political allegiance, there is the additional issue of social class by identification with occupation. Repeatedly, in this period one finds names combining personal names with 'job titles' in both epigraphic and literary evidence. Many individuals identify themselves as artisans or lawyers or some other occupational title. Since the Late Antique period has often been portrayed as a time of preoccupation with 'otherworldly' matters,[42] such self-identification by earthly work deserves to be investigated. Kampen and Joshel have focused primarily on occupational inscriptions of the Roman period in the West;[43] I have tried to utilize some of their approach, if not all their conclusions, in an examination of Late Antique artisanal inscriptions from Berytus.

Although religious history for the Late Antique period is usually investigated either along the lines of dissecting theological controversy or assessing the meaning of religious experience, I am looking primarily for aspects of self-identification as a 'pagan' or a 'Christian.' Even the categories of 'pagan' and 'Christian' can include believers along a broad spectrum. Most pagans worshipped a variety of deities; some Christians defined God in non-conforming, 'heretical' terms. Throughout the discussion of religion, the emphasis will be on religious self-description and an interest in the social implications and consequences of such identification by an individual or by groups.

Even in the study of lawyers, jurisconsults, and law students, the approach will be to discuss issues of self-identification by occupation, ethnicity, religion, and other social issues. The study of legal history' will be left to other scholars, such as Collinet and Honoré.[44] Some refreshing new work on the use of the legal codes for social history is appearing lately but will be used only as it pertains to Berytus itself.[45]

Sources

All historians must weigh their sources by some standard, articulated or implied. Since my approach is to look for self-identification, the inscriptions will have special relevance for this study because so many (not all, of course) were commissioned to express some aspect of identity. I have emphasized the inscriptions from Berytus, even those earlier than the Late Antique period, because they would express the specific concerns of that particular city. The epigraphic sources for Berytus are few in number (under a hundred)[46] and not published in one *corpus,* although there is a projected publication by Rey-Coquais in progress for the *Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie (IGLS)* series.[47] This deficit can be compensated for in part by utilizing related inscriptions from Tyre[48] and Heliopolis (Baalbek), [49] as well as some comparable ones from Rome and the Greek East.[50] Similar to the inscriptions in the

expression of private concerns are papyri,[51] curse tablets,[52] and inscribed objects[53] such as a phylactery[54] found in Berytus.

A variety of literary sources, written in several genres and differing in historical value, provide evidence for the study of Berytus. First, the most valuable source and the most used by other historians is the 'Life of Severus' written by Zacharias of Mytilene and surviving only in Syriac. Written to defend the Patriarch's reputation, the biography emphasizes proofs of Severus's piety. However, the author also describes the life of the law students in Berytus and the religious activities of both Christians and pagans. Related to this account are the letters of Severus and a description of one of the churches by Zacharias.[55] Important new (partial) translations of The Life of Severus' into English from Syriac have been produced by Frank Trombley[56] and Robin Darling Young.[57] Otherwise, the standard text is that edited and translated into French by Kugener in the *Patrologia Orientalis* and commonly referred to as the *Vie de Sévère*.

Another extended text with valuable information about the development of monastic life near Berytus is the 'Life of St Matrona,' told in three versions in the *Acta Sanctorum*[58] Of these, the *vita prima* has been translated by Jeffrey Featherstone,[59] and the *vita altera* has been translated by Khalifa Bennasser.[60] Other saints' lives provide revealing anecdotal information about the law students of Berytus[61] and the artisans[62] of the Greek East. Some other information for Berytus comes from tantalizingly brief references in historians like Josephus, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eunapius, Eusebius, Procopius, John Malalas, Agathias, Theophanes, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen Scholasticus, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Zosimus, the *Chronicon Paschale,* and John Lydus. The narratives of pilgrims like Egeria and Antoninus Placentinus offer brief observations from the 'outsider's' viewpoint. A bureaucrats journal preserved on a papyrus found in Egypt[63] has some important data. Some 'geographical' writers like Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and the anonymous author of the *Expositio totius mundi* describe the city and its physical attributes.

Philosophers like Philo of Byblos and poets like Nonnus, Iohannes Burcallus, and even a young law student[64] produced literature with archaizing tendencies and information about Berytus. Their information has to be used carefully because the writers' intent was to produce creations of literary merit, not historical accuracy. However, such writings can be probed to produce evidence about not only literary and intellectual aspirations but also the cultural values in Late Antique Berytus. Other cultural norms of Late Antique Syria can be suggested by the sermons of John Chrysostom, the letters of Libanius, and the hymns of Romanus.

The legal codes are a useful source of information for the history of Late Antique cities. Whenever they speak specifically to situations in Berytus or the neighboring city of Tyre, they become even more helpful to our understanding of urban life there. Even laws issued in another section of the Greek East provide useful insights when they speak on a topic relevant to Berytus. In addition, the laws shed light on the nature of legal instruction[65] and promulgation[66] in

Berytus, one of two centers in the Greek East for training lawyers. The laws should, however, be considered 'prescriptive' in nature. That is, they describe a situation from the government's viewpoint and thus have to be used cautiously for understanding the views of private individuals.

Official documents like the Peutinger Table,[67] the price edict of Diocletian,[68] and the *Notitia Dignitatum*[69] provide evidence for details of economic, geographical, and political life in Late Antique cities, including Berytus and Tyre. The evidence of coins[70] and seals[71] from Berytus and neighboring cities can confirm dates as well as suggest imperial programs of a religious or political nature. They also sometimes portray buildings and structures not yet revealed by archeological excavation or mentioned in the literary record.

Recent archeological initiatives in Beirut are unearthing more of the material culture of the ancient city. These finds are being published in a continuous stream in such journals as *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (BAAL), Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Berytus), ARAM,* and *National Museum News* (NMN). Reports and comments are also appearing in other publications.[72] Previously, most of the published reports have emphasized periods prior to Late Antiquity (also known as Byzantine).[73] Thus, the publications by Lauffray of Roman Berytus are of value for envisioning the classical layout of the city and the various sections,[74] but his conclusions have been revised by many new excavations. It is to be lamented that Lauffray's projected publication of Byzantine Berytus in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* never materialized.[75] The publication by Emir Maurice Chéhab of the mosaics of Lebanon is very helpful for an understanding of some of the villas of Berytus and adjacent sites and are now supplemented by the publication of many newly discovered mosaics.[76] The dissertation by Leon Marfoe[77] which records an archeological survey of the Biqaa Valley provides some useful information about the countryside which supported the city of Berytus. Well-published studies of churches,[78] houses,[79] and monasteries[80] in other parts of Syria and Lebanon provide valuable *comparanda* for envisioning similar structures in Berytus. In particular, reports from the excavations at Heliopolis (Baalbek),[81] Deir el Qalaa,[82] Tyre,[83] and Khan Khaldé[84] suggest church types to be found in Late Antique Berytus. However, in the end I have chosen to emphasize the textual and epigraphic evidence over the archeological evidence because this study focuses on the written self-presentation of the people of Berytus in Late Antiquity.

I have made several decisions regarding the presentation of texts and translations. First, I decided to present significant inscriptions and some key texts in Latin or Greek, accompanied by English translations, in order to have the original wording immediately before the reader.[85] When in doubt, I have decided to omit the original language text if it is widely available in an English translation, such as those in the Loeb Classical Library editions. Furthermore, large portions of the various versions of the 'Life of Matrona' appear only in English because the texts are lengthy and readily available to the interested reader.

Second, I have presented texts from Syriac or other Semitic languages, such as the 'Life of Severus,' only in English translation, but with some words transliterated for closer analysis. Third, I made new translations of passages only if they were not available in English or if the existing translations were seriously flawed or stylistically so dated as to be a distraction. When no translator is cited, it is my translation.

Fortunately, many fine new translations have recently appeared.[86] In addition to the translations of the 'Life of Severus' and the 'Life of Matrona' mentioned above, I found invaluable the recent scholarly translations of John Malalas,[87] Agathias,[88] Zosimus,[89] Philo of Byblos,[90] the *Chronicon Paschale,*[91] and the historical fragments of Eunapius.[92] In a few instances, I have found that re-translating certain sources, especially Antoninus Placentinus, led to important new information that previously had been overlooked.[93]

In conclusion, I am attempting to place before the reader the epigraphic and textual evidence that I have found for a social history of Berytus in the period of the Roman law schools. Such a study, which focuses on the self-identification of individuals and of the city as a whole, should help us understand some later developments in the history of the area. In particular, our understanding of the evolution from a pagan, Greco-Roman *colonia* to a Byzantine Christian *polis* to a Semitic Islamic *madina* will be enhanced.[94] Perhaps more importantly, looking at the city in this way provides a new lens for viewing the people of Late Antique cities and their complex ways of interacting. Observing the concerns of the people themselves opens our eyes to the changing personal priorities which affected the political and religious affiliation of the city as a whole.

Notes

1 Previous histories of the city include: Guys (1850); Porter (1912); Collinet (1925); Cheiko (1927); Mouterde and Lauffray (1952); some parts of Hitti (1967); Lauffray (1978); Jidejian (1973) and (1997).

2 See Lavan (200 la) and (200 Ib) for a presentation of current approaches to the study of the Late Antique city. See also Fentress (2000) for the process of Romanization in the colonies and provinces.

3 A great deal of work has now been done on self-identity of individuals and groups in the Mediterranean world, particularly in the Roman era. See Anderson (1991); L.J.Hall (2003); Harries (2000); Holum (1998); Huskinson (2000); Lapin (1998); R.Laurence and J.Berry (1998); Miles (1999); Millar (1998b); Pohl and Reimitz (1998); Torelli (1999); Webster (2001); Wells (1980); Woolf (1994), (1995), (1996), (1997a), (1997b), and (1998).

4 Laiou (1993).

5 See W.V.Harris (1989) and Hopkins (1991) for a discussion of the frequency of literacy as a factor in the written records. See MacMullen (1982) for trends which affected the commissioning of inscriptions. See also MacMullen (1990) for the role of the 'masses' and for availability of sources for writing ancient history.

6 See Mattingly and Hitchner (1997) for variations of experience in the Roman Empire; Hingley (1996) on the idea of Romanization. See the following for the changes in the region into the seventh century: Brock (1976); P. Brown (1971/1989); Canivet (1989); Carver (1996); Christides (1986); Clover and Humphreys (1989); Donner (1981); Fowden (1993); Geanakoplos (1980); Hodges and Whitehouse (1983); Liebeschuetz (1998); Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland (1993); Schick (1995); Vryonis (1963) and (1965); Witakowski (1987).

7 Liebeschuetz (1972). Liebeschuetz (1992) and (2001a) continues to study cities in Late Antiquity. See Liebeschuetz (2000a) for his definitive article on Berytus in *RAC* which he kindly lent in advance of publication to me.

8 Lapidus (1967).

9 Brunt (1965). See especially the studies edited or authored by Alcock (1993), (1997), and (2001).

10 Balsdon (1979) has gathered conveniently such ancient caricaturizations and characterizations. See also Olster (1995) for the Christian perpetuation of some of the classical stereotypes.

11 See Said (1978) and (1995) for a dissection of European attitudes toward the East. See Olender (1989), Robinson and Smith (1841), and Weber (1953) for studies which show that the interest of the West in the East in the nineteenth century often arose from the study of the Bible.

12 Mommsen (1909) 2.126 in his chapter on Syria, from an English translation made with Mommsen's approval and additions.

13 Mommsen (1909) 2:135.

14 A.H.M.Jones (1931) 265: 'In a previous article I discussed the urbanization of the territory of the Jews. In this article I propose to treat the administrative development of the territory of another backward people of Syria, the Ituraeans.' The term 'backward' is astonishing to us, but not to Britons before 1945. See Liebeschuetz (1993) for Jones's contribution to our knowledge of the Later Roman Empire.

15 Isaac (1992), for example. Such a viewpoint may be inherent in the outlook of military historians who tend to eulogize 'victors.'

16 See Heather (1999); J.M.Hall (1997); Huskinson (2000); Laurence and Berry (1998); and Keay and Terrenato (2001).

17 Rostovtzeff (1957).

18 Bowersock (1983).

19 Momigliano (1975).

20 See especially Millar (1987a) for study of interactions between Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and Millar (1993) 225–36 for an important discussion of communal and cultural identities.

21 See Kaye and Zoubir (1990) for an insightful study of the issues involved in linguistic dominance and imperial organization of language instruction.

22 Millar (1968), (1993), and (1995).

23 Brock (1984) for study of interaction of writers of Greek and Syriac languages. Drivjvers (1984) and Vööbus (1975) for importance of Syriac language.

24 Donner (1981).

25 This appears particularly true in the period of Late Antiquity when legal and social categories were specified in the legal codes and reflected especially clearly in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus. The existence of such categories does not seem

to have precluded rapid shifts either upward or downward, as MacMullen (1964a), (1974), and (1986) has skillfully demonstrated.

26 Excellent study of such factors, including an examination of 'private' and 'public' space in North Africa, by Yvon Thébert in Veyne (1987).

27 P.Brown (1988) on the profound changes in society at large that could result from the change in self-definition by 'exemplary' individuals.

28 Braudel (1972) and Horden and Purcell (2000) have shown the great importance of the geographical setting in their work on the Mediterranean.

29 For issues of gender and family structure in Late Antiquity see especially Herrin (1983/93) and (1994); Av. Cameron (1993a) and (1993b); Arjava (1996) and (2001); Evans Grubbs (1995); and Shaw (1984).

30 See Stambaugh (1988) for a full description of the characteristics of a Roman city, and Ward-Perkins (1981) for detailed case studies of Roman cities in both the East and the West. Wycherley (1976) remains a classic study of Greek cities, while Rothaus (2000) provides a good study of Roman Corinth.

31 See Burke (1990) and Duby (1994) for succinct survey of the development of this approach. See Aries and Duby (1987) for engaging application of the method in the study of Late Antique life in North Africa and the West especially.

32 See Dyson (1979) for his call for the use of such methodology.

33 See Thompson (1988) 86–102 for examination of 'ethnic minorities' in Hellenistic Memphis and Haas (1997) in Late Antique Alexandria. See also Cohen (1990) for a study of religion, ethnicity, and Hellenism in Jewish identity in the Maccabean period. See also Mitchell and Greatrex (2000) for a collection of essays on ethnicity and culture in Late Antiquity.

34 Julian *Contra Galileos* calls for a strengthening of ethnic identity to purify religion; see Athanissiadi-Fowden (1981) 162–3 for discussion. See Huskinson (2000) and Woolf (1994), (1995), and (1998) for recent studies on the interaction of ethnicity, cultural identity, and self-identity.

35 I have decided to use the Romanized spellings, even of Greek names, in order to assist the reader in the use of standard bibliographic citations. However, one should remember that 'East Greeks' were choosing to identify themselves, apparently ethnically, by such names.

36 See Momigliano (1975b) for the argument that the Greeks set up a hierarchy of Greek identity as superior to that of other 'barbarian' cultures.

37 See Birley (1988a) for a study of North African naming practices in the Roman period. See Salway (1994) for survey of Roman naming practices through the centuries. See Preisigke (1967) for native names in inscriptions; Benz (1972) for Phoenician and Punic elements in names; Stark (1971) for Palmyrene names; and Harding (1971) for pre-Islamic Arabic names. See Kampen (1981) and Joshel (1992) for significance of occupational names. See Kajanto (1963) and Rey-Coquais (1967) for religious connotations of names.

38 For the cultural meaning of competency in both Greek and Latin or other languages, see the following studies: Ar. Cameron (1931); Colt (1946); Bardy (1948); MacMullen (1966); Millar (1968), (1987a), (1993), (1998b), and (1999b); Mason (1974); Brock (1975); van Rengen (1977); McCormick (1981); Schmitt (1983); Maas (1992); Rochette (1995); Geiger (1996) and (1999); Lehmann (1993); Drijvers (1996); Adams (1996) and (2003); C.P.Jones (1996); and Bowersock (1998a).

39 See Palmer (1954) and (1980) for details of linguistic variation by 'nativespeakers' of Latin and Greek as revealed by the riotous profusion of non-standard Latin and Greek words found in inscriptions from 'native' areas like Athens and Pompeii or in comic authors such as Plautus, Menander, and Petronius.
40 See Millar (1983b) for the Phoenician background; (1987b) for the Hellenistic structures; (1987a), (1990) for the interaction of these cultures with the Roman influence; and now (1998) for his study of ethnic identity.
41 The model of Millar (1987a) in his study of the emerging ethnicity of Syrians and Arabs is particularly instructive, but he does not carry his study beyond the fourth century AD.
42 P Brown (1971/89), (1982), and (1988).
43 Kampen (1981). Joshel (1992). See also Kent (1966) for an analysis of inscriptions from Corinth.
44 See especially Collinet (1925) and Honoré (1962a), (1978), and (1982).
45 Evans Grubbs (1993), (1995), and (2001); Sirks (1991); collection of articles in Harries and Wood (eds) (1993).
46 See especially citations for Clermont-Ganneau, Ronzevalle, Du Mesnil du Buisson, and Mouterde for publication of most of the inscriptions from Berytus and Deir El Qalaa, the sanctuary near Berytus.
47 MacAdam (1990). Rey-Coquais, personal correspondence 1995; see now ReyCoquais (1997) and (1998b).
48 Rey-Coquais (1977).
49 Rey-Coquais (1967)=*IGLS* VI.
50 See citations in the sections on the artisans in particular.
51 Gilliam (1974).
52 Maricq (1952); Gager (1992).
53 See De Ridder (1912) and Mouterde (1930–1) for other objects found in and near Berytus that were inscribed with apotropaic symbols.
54 Jordan (1991); Gager (1992).
55 Zacharias of Mytilene, *Disputatio de Opificio Mundi, PG* 85.1011–144.
56 Trombley (1993) with important discussion.
57 Darling (1982); Young(1990).
58 *Vita Sanctae Matronae. Acta Sanctorum Novembris III* (1910) 790b-823f has the Greek text of *Vita Prima, Vita Altera,* and *Vita Tertia. Vita altera* also in *PG* 116. 920–54.
59 Featherstone (1996) in Talbot (1996) with introduction and notes by Cyril Mango.
60 Bennasser (1984). Important discussion in Topping (1988).
61 *Vita et Res Gestae Sancti Xenophontis, et filiorum eius Joannis et Arcadii,* 338–45.
62 Magoulias (1976) and Sodini (1979) are excellent studies of artisans that draw on the evidence of saints' lives.
63 *PRyl* IV, The Archive of Theophanes.'
64 'Epikedeia auf professoren von Berytos,' Berlin papyri 10558 and 10559, in Schubart and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1907).
65 Collinet (1925) remains the best study of the law schools, students, and professors at Berytus.
66 Collinet (1924). J.F.Matthews (1993) 43 notes that only fourteen laws in the *Theodosian Code* were dated from Berytus. Bischoff (1990) 72–5 and McNamee (1995a), (1995b), (1995c), and (1998) argue that certain extant

manuscripts of pre-Justinianac law which have wide margins for *scholia* and which were copied in a distinctive slanted Latin script are from scriptoria of Late Antique Berytus.

67 *Tabula Peutingera* in a facsimile edition by Weber (1976) refers to Beritho. See discussion by MacAdam (1999) for comparison of this document with other ancient geographical sources.

68 Lauffer (1971).

69 Seeck (1876) with references to Phoenicia.

70 Butcher (1996a), (1997–8), (2001–2), and forthcoming is the major expert on coins of Berytus. See Jidejian (1973) and (1997) for photographs of some of the coins minted at Berytus. Hill (1910) is the technical publication for many of these coins. Augé (1989) has an important discussion of coins of Hellenistic and Roman Syria. See the appendix of coins which was developed from an online listing of holdings at the American Numismatic Society and is used with permission.

71 Alpi (1997); Cheynet, Morrison, and Seibt (1991); Zacos and Veglery (1972).

72 See now the articles in the bibliography, which I list here by first author, in alphabetical order: Albert; Alpi; Arnaud; Asmar; Aubert; Badre; el Banna-Chidiac; Boivin; Bonifay; Braakenburg-van Breukelen; Butcher; Cumberpatch; Curvers; Davie; de Jong; Finkbeiner; Foy; Gatier; Gavin; Ghadban; Hakimian; Hayes; Huyghe; Jidejian (1997); Karam; Khalaf; Maila-Afeiche; Marquis; McQuitty; Mikati; Mongne; Morss; Mulder-Hymans; Naccache; Northover; Ortali-Taraz; Perring; Raschka; Reynolds; Rifaï; Rowe; Sader; Saghieh; Saghieh-Beidoun; Sawaya; Seeden; Stuart; Thorpe; Waliszewski; Ward (1994); Wardini (1996); T. Williams; and Wilmotte. I extend my personal thanks to Helga Seeden who has facilitated my access to this information.

73 See Will (1982) and Turquety-Pariset (1982) for brief reports on 1977 season.

74 Lauffray (1944–6) and (1978); see also Mouterde and Lauffray (1952).

75 Personal correspondence, 1994.

76 Chéhab (1958–9). See also Stern (1965); Morss (1997–8).

77 Marfoe (1978). Additional discussion in Marfoe (1983).

78 Butler (1929); Lassus (1947).

79 Collection of articles in Dentzer and Orthmann (1989).

80 Tchalenko (1953–8).

81 Wiegand (1921–5). Jidejian (1975) with photographs and subsequent bibliography. Ragette (1980) is a useful survey with illustrations.

82 Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938).

83 Rey-Coquais (1979d) with references to previous publications of the excavations. Jidejian (1969) with photographs and full bibliography.

84 Saidah (1975) and (1978). Duval and Caillet (1982).

85 The sheer difficulty in tracking down some of the inscriptions and passages is also a justification for their presentation in one place.

86 I think the most promising translation project yet to be undertaken would be a translation of the *Geoponika* which appears to offer much information about the agriculture of the Late Antique Greek East. See Rodgers (1978) and (2002) for useful commentary on the *Geoponica (Geoponika)*. For a profile of the source of the *Geoponika,* see Photius, *The Bibliotheca,* translated by Wilson (1994), s.v. '163.Vindaonius Anatolius.'

87 Jeffreys, Jeffreys and Scott (1986).

88 Frendo (1975).
89 Ridley (1982).
90 Baumgarten (1981).
91 Whitby and Whitby (1989).
92 In Blockley (1981–3).
93 See now Wilkinson (2002) 129–51, who, in his acknowledgments, accepts the correctness of my translation of *genicia (gynaecia)*.
94 Kazhdan and Cutler (1982); Kennedy (1985a), (1985b), and (1992).

2
THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Location

Berytus is situated on a narrow coastal plain but on a promontory which juts into the sea. From the city one may see both the Mediterranean Sea and the ridge of inland mountains which are frequently snow-capped. On the east, it is mostly shut off from the interior by the 'backbone' of the Lebanon Mountain. Beyond the Lebanon Mountain lies the fertile Biqaa Valley which is in turn backed by the Anti-Lebanon Mountain.[1] Thus, historically, communication to and from Berytus has been less arduous along the north-to-south axis of the coast road than on the east-to-west axis running into the interior.[2] However, roads through the mountain passes facilitated interaction with Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Damascus. The Mediterranean Sea provided access to cities which were less accessible by the land route. The nearby cities of Byblos (modern Jubayl or Jbeil) to the north and Tyre and Sidon to the south have had close political, religious, and economic ties with Berytus.[3]

The harbor

The 'hook' of land on which Berytus is situated curves around and provides a protected anchorage along the Phoenician coast. This projection (Ras Beyrouth) into the Mediterranean has made the port of Berytus particularly well-suited for trade. The advantages of the natural situation may have been improved using methods developed at Caesarea Maritima in the time of Herod. The harbor at Berytus reportedly received a double mole in a crescent form, with towers at each end from which a chain could be stretched so as to block the harbor.[4] The excavations at Caesarea have revealed the manpower and technology involved in such an undertaking which Josephus had described. According to the archeologists' summary of the building of the Roman-era harbor at Caesarea Maritima:

> Thousands of workmen, both slaves and paid laborers, worked on marble public buildings, an elaborate sewer system, and an aqueduct to nearby

> Mount Carmel that fed the city's fountains. Their most impressive project, however, was a vast harbor complex, far larger than the harbor of Strato's Tower. Engineers and workmen, using concrete poured under water, created a harbor that was a marvel of technology and design, with docks, warehouses, break-waters, a lighthouse, and six colossal bronze statues to guard the entrance and welcome seafarers seeking haven.[5]

The ancient harbor at Berytus may be the one described by Phocas in his account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1185. It is possible that he was simply rehearsing ancient sources or that he actually saw the harbor as described in the passage below:

> After it [Tripolis] comes the place called Zebelet [Byblos]. Next is Berytus, a great city with great population, surrounded by many fields. It is famous for the beauty of its harbor, which is not natural but artificially built up, lying in the bay formed by the city like a crescent moon. At the two horns of the crescent large towers have been built, and a cable stretched from one to the other keeps ships in the harbor. Here is the frontier from Syria to Phoenicia.[6]

The coast road

The coast road, also called the 'way of the sea,' between the north (Antioch) and the south (Jerusalem, Ptolemais) is documented in several Late Antique sources, particularly from the accounts of pilgrims[7] or other travelers. 'Road-books' like the Peutinger Table,[8] the narrative of the Antonine pilgrim,[9] Jerome's account of Paula's journey,[10] the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* and the *Cosmographia Ravennatis* supply details about the road, the cities and towns, and distances to be traveled.[11]

The evidence of the milestones[12] suggests that the road from Antioch to Ptolemais, although it followed an ancient route, was engineered to Roman standards in 56 AD during the reign of Nero.[13] Roman emperors of the first and second centuries, such as Vespasian,[14] Domitian,[15] Trajan,[16] and Marcus Aurelius,[17] are named on milestones from the coast road, but it is not certain what, if any, repairs they made. Septimius Severus and Caracalla renewed and repaired the road on a major scale in 198 AD.[18] Constantine and the three Caesars marked many milestones in the period from 333 to 337 AD,[19] it is not clear that any improvements were made at that time. Distances were calculated from Antioch prior to 198 AD. Thereafter, distances were given from town to town. Such a change may have been for the convenience of the traveler or may reflect that the maintenance of the roads had devolved to the local governments.[20]

Goodchild, whose careful study of the road in the 1940s is the classic report, summarized his findings thus:

> The road follows as close to the sea-shore as is practicable, diverging from it only to avoid sand-dunes or to cross rocky promontories… Its width is approximately 22 ft, and it is normally paved with irregular blocks of stone and provided with carefully-laid curbs of larger stones. On the rocky headlands, however, these curbs are replaced by side walls of stones quarried from the course of the road… Throughout its course the road is well engineered with embankments over hollows, massive bridges[21] over wadis, giving easy gradients except at such natural obstacles as the Nahr el-Kelb pass.[22]

Such a well-engineered road supported maneuvers by military forces, the journeys of bureaucrats, and the pilgrimages of religious devotees, as the literary evidence confirms. Of course, many travelers preferred the sea route and only traveled part of the way by road. Merchants must have ‘counted the cost’ for each type of transport of goods. Surely, the sea route frequently was more economical, but there is evidence for land transport of some goods.[23]

Theophanes, a Roman official, who traveled from Antioch to Egypt and back again in the years 317–24 AD, recorded his daily halts and purchases along the way.[24] He and his party (which included other officials and slaves) averaged 32 miles a day. Theophanes was a *scholasticus* who carried letters of introduction to officials in Syria (Achillius, Governor of Syria, and Dyscolus, who resided in Antioch and was possibly the *Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem*). Even though the journey was undertaken in the period of the civil war between Constantine and Licinius, the journey appears quite routine.[25] Theophanes’s journal gives us a rare glimpse into the workings of the imperial travel system mentioned in passing by Ammianus and in more detail in the itineraries.

Travel by the land route was feasible and apparently unexceptional.[26] The milestones, roadbooks, and travel narratives suggest that interaction between Berytus and her neighboring cities occurred regularly. Eusebius’s Caesarea was three days away; Tyre was two days away and Sidon, one. In fact, any area less than thirty-two miles away, should be considered within one day’s travel,[27] such as Heliopolis to the east. These were Berytus’s ‘near neighbors’ and provide excellent evidence for a social history of Berytus (or, at the very least, suggest a similar cultural milieu). The traveler who so wished could reach Gaza to the south within six days and Antioch to the north within seven days by land. Travel by sea would cut the time of these trips by several days. Thus products and ideas could pass between these areas in a relatively brief time.

Berytus and other cities

Berytus was fortunate in her location. Her position on the road to the north and south facilitated contact with the coastal Mediterranean cities. Furthermore, Berytus sat at the center of a network of roads reaching into the interior to the silk route which passed through Emesa, Apamea, Edessa, Beroea,

Hierapolis, Edessa, and eventually to Nisibis and beyond.[28] By sea, access to any of the major cities was quite feasible and there is much evidence for extended trade even with the West from the base of Tyre and Berytus.[29] Although Constantinople lay at some distance by land, it is clear that travel to and from the imperial capital was no problem by sea. There was regular and continuous interaction between the city of the law schools and the imperial capital. This location seems to have made Berytus in some ways an outpost of *imperium,* a place to plant the unifying influences of instruction in Latin and Roman law.

Notes

1 See now Horden and Purcell (2000) for the importance of the connection between Baalbek and the Mediterranean Sea. See de Vaumas (1946) for a general view of the city, and Du Mesnil du Boisson (1921) and (1923–4) for early studies of the terrain of the city. See Kuniholm (1997) for a chronology of the region established by an analysis of tree rings.

2 Ball (2000) has a useful survey of the region. See now MacAdam (2002) for collected essays on ancient geographical authors, such as Marinus of Tyre (MacAdam 1999–2000) and Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy (MacAdam 1999).

3 See Cornell and Matthews (1982) for excellent maps of the coast and interior. See also the maps at the end of Dentzer and Orthmann (eds) (1989). Previously, Map III in Dussaud (1927) would have been the best one to consult for the geographical features of the terrain between Beirut and Baalbek. Prepared by French army cartographers, the maps are accurate and also give the Arabic names of the numerous adjacent villages which are very useful for placing archeological site reports. The map and description in Lauffray (1978) 135–40 now need revising in light of ongoing excavations, as reported in Saghieh-Beydoun, *et al.* (1998–9). A very useful map which indicates the road system, the relation of Berytus to the various cities, the fourth century provinces, the limestone plateau, and the Limes of Chalcis is presented as the end paper in Liebeschuetz (1972).

4 Bouchier (1916) 114; ancient source not stated.

5 Holum, Hohlfelder, Bull, and Raban (1988) 22.

6 Joannes Phocas, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* 5 in *PG* 133.932. English translation by J.P.Brown (1969) 63.

7 E.D.Hunt (1982) with special reference to the journeys of Egeria in 381 AD (*Itinerarium Egeriae, CCSL* 175 [1965] 29–90) and the Bordeaux pilgrim of 333 AD (*Itinerarium Burdigalense, CCSL* 175 [1965] 1–26). There is a useful map in E.D.Hunt (1982) 52 which overlays the routes of these travelers in addition to those of Melania the elder (373–400 AD), Paula and Jerome (385 AD), and Postumianus (*c.* 400 AD). See also Casson (1974) *passim* for enlightening discussion of these sources and others.

8 See Dilke (1987) for discussion and bibliography on the various maps and itineraries known to us from the early and late Roman Empire. See Finkelstein (1979) for recent study of the Peutinger Table for the area of the Holy Land.

9 See Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium, CCSL* 175:127–53, for the text of this journey. See E.D.Hunt (1982) for a thorough study and comparative bibliography of this pilgrim and others in the period 312–460 AD.

10 Jerome, *Epistula* 108 in *Belles-Lettres,* 5:165; translated in Wilkinson (2002) 79–91 and provided with maps and diagrams.

11 Bauzou (1989) has a recent study of the routes in Syria and Phoenicia, but there are no substantive changes to Goodchild's work.

12 See Goodchild (1949) 94–116 for detailed discussion of the correlation of these roadbooks with the milestones of this particular route. Goodchild personally verified all the milestones which were extant in 1945 and traced and measured the road in person.

13 Goodchild (1949) has extensive discussion of these milestones with citations to the literature. For Nero, see Goodchild (1949) 120 and Mouterde (1907) 336–45. Some of the attributions are made by rather tenuous readings.

14 Goodchild (1949) 120–1 and pl. XXI, 2. See also Goodchild (1949) 117 for citation to *CIL* 111.210 for possible milestone of Vespasian (72 AD).

15 Goodchild (1949) 126.

16 See Goodchild (1949) 124–5 for publication of previously unpublished milestone. 'I M P/CAESARI NERVAE/TRAIANO AVG/GERMANICO/DACICO> PONT>/MAXIMO<TR>/POT>P>P>…/CCLX.' Goodchild suggests a date before 116 AD because of the absence of the title 'Parthicus.'

17 Goodchild (1949) 118, dated to 116 AD, at Maameltein, '10 minutes south' of Roman bridge. *CIL* III.208. Thomsen (1917), no. 4.

18 Goodchild (1949) 121–6 has the following citations: for milestone 257, *CIL* III.205 (examples 5 and 7), and Thomsen (1917) no. 15; for milestone 258, Renan (1864), no. 2, *CIL* III 205 (examples 1, 4, and 6), and Thomsen (1917) nos. 14 and 16; for milestone 259, Renan, no. 3, *CIL* III.215 (example 2), Thomsen (1917) nos. 12 and 17; and for milestone 260, Renan no. 4, *CIL* III.205 (example 3), Thomsen (1917) no. 18. See also Goodchild (1949) for pls XXII, 1 and 3.

19 Goodchild (1949) 118–26. Goodchild gives the following citations: for milestone 214, [Constantine and three Caesars, 333–7 AD] Cagnat (1926a) 254; for milestone 221 [same rulers] *CIL 111.209,* Thomsen (1917) no. 7, Renan (1864) p. 862; for milestone 257 [same rulers], *CIL* III.204, Renan (1864) 379; and for milestone 259 [same rulers], Renan (1864) 862 and new reading in Goodchild (1949) 124 and pl. XXII, 3: 'DDDD NNNN/(FL VAL) CONSTANTINO M(AXIMO)/VICTORI/(A)C TRIUVMFATORI/(SEMPER) AV(G) ET/(FL CL) CONSTANTINO (ET)/(FL IVL) CONSTANTIO (ET)/(FL IVL) CONSTANTE/////////////NOBILL (CAESSS) (or NOBBBB).'

20 Goodchild (1949) 114, based on careful study of milestones for distances stated from Antioch until 198 AD. Goodchild suggests that maintenance of roads devolved to cities in Syria and Phoenicia during the reign of Septimius Severus. See also evidence of *Cod. Theod.* 11.16.10; 11.16.15; 11.16.18; 15.1.36; and 15.3 for exactions and exemptions for road building by curial classes. See *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.36 (397 AD) for designation of materials from demolished temples for the repair of roads, bridges, walls, and aqueducts.

21 Bridge at Maameltein is 22 feet wide and spans 39 feet. Still standing despite violent earthquakes and the passing of many centuries, it attests to the high

standard of Roman engineering in the East as elsewhere. Goodchild (1949), pl. XXII.4, photograph of the bridge.

22 Goodchild (1949) 111–12.

23 Casson (1974) has excellent general discussion.

24 *PRyl* IV, 104–7, and 630–8:203–506 [now also available on the Packard Humanities Institute disk of inscriptions and papyri] records in ledger entries the distances traveled and foods purchased. So, for example, they traveled on average 140 miles in three days but could make 64 miles in one day near the journey's end. See Casson (1974) 190–3 and 352, note, for a discussion of this passage and other travelers' accounts.

25 C.H.Roberts (1945) 113.

26 J.F.Matthews (1989a) draws attention to the role of pilgrims, philosophers, and other travelers in the exchange of ideas in Late Antiquity.

27 Casson (1974) 189 finds Theophanes's pace somewhat faster than that of a private individual. Casson suggests a pace of 15–20 miles a day on foot, 25–30 miles a day with a carriage. He thinks 40–45 is the outside maximum but at an exhausting rate.

28 Excellent map in Cornell and Matthews (1982) 157 which shows the network of roads in the East.

29 See Chapter 3 on the economic base of Berytus, especially on the textile trade.

3
THE ECONOMIC BASE OF THE CITY

Traditional view of the ancient economy

In the model of the ancient economy proposed by Jones and Finley and their successors such as Hopkins and Garnsey, the chief source of wealth was agricultural production.[1] Agricultural products were mostly consumed by those who raised them, but a surplus was sold to produce cash for the payment of taxes and rents. These payments could be and were at various times made 'in kind.' Redistribution of wealth might occur through trade but also through taxation, gift, or religious organizations. The cities were the abode of the wealthy landowners who embraced urban centers as the residence of choice. Within the cities, artisans and tradesmen functioned to produce clothing, implements, and objects of ornamentation. The consumers of agricultural surplus, artisan production, and various services included not only individuals of varying degrees of wealth, but also government officials, churches, and of course, primarily, the state itself.[2]

However, as John F.Matthews has shown in his study of the tax law of Palmyra, some areas undeniably drew their wealth from commercial activity rather than from an agricultural base.[3] It is quite demonstrable that in certain cases, such as in Palmyra, wealth was not invested in the land; status came simply from wealth obtained through mercantile activity Matthews suggested also that as we improve our understanding of port cities like Ostia[4] we will come to revise the existing predominant model of the ancient economy Because Jones based his oft-cited figure of 5 per cent of wealth from trade and 95 per cent of wealth from land on the very slim evidence of the collection of the *collatio lustralis,* 'trade tax,' from Edessa[5] and of the annual tax (based on land value and the grain levy) from Heracleopolis,[6] even a small amount of new evidence might force a radical re-evaluation of the relative proportion of sources of wealth in the Late Antique economy For example, no import or export taxes are included in this figure. Jones refers to the *portoria* and the *octroi* which seem to have been collected originally on behalf of the cities and subsequently turned over to the central government, but he does not attempt to calculate this income as part of the revenues from trade. Liebeschuetz has suggested that merchants might evade paying the *collatio*

lustralis[7] by simply sailing away; it seems unlikely that they would be able to evade the locally assessed import-export taxes.[8]

Jones asserted frequently that ancient merchants would attempt as quickly as possible to convert trade revenues to investment in land. Such a phenomenon indeed may have existed not only because of a desire for economic security, but also because of historic biases against gaining wealth from trade. To support his argument that income from the land was the most effective means of acquiring and maintaining wealth, Jones pointed to the vast wealth of Late Antique landowners in the West which so greatly exceeded the wealth of even the great merchants of Alexandria.

The economy of Late Antique Berytus

The question that needs to be addressed is whether the widely held traditional model of the ancient economy based on agricultural wealth holds true for Berytus. There appear to be several 'special' considerations about the economy of this particular city and its surrounding agricultural territory. First of all, Berytus's role in the production and trade of silk and linen garments in the city itself was clearly a source of wealth, as Procopius plainly states (see pp. 24–6). To what extent this wealth accrued to various persons involved in the trade and production of the garments is addressed in some detail below. Whether the production was 'free' or governmentcontrolled is examined because it indicates whether the wealth from such trade went to individuals or to the government.

Additional wealth for the city may have been drawn from trade of non-textile goods, both by sea and by overland route. The sale of agricultural products, particularly within the city, is likely to have enriched land-owners who resided in the city. The commerce in goods and services increased the income of artisans or persons who drew income from them. In addressing the sources of wealth in the cities, Jones, Finley, and their followers suggest that each region was self-sufficient in the production of food and products needed, and that consequently only high-value items (such as silk garments which were literally worth their weight in gold) were shipped any great distance.[9]

Another aspect of the Late Antique urban economy was the role of the church and the government as re-distributors of wealth, and indeed, the whole issue of 'institution as consumer.' In other words, did the government 'take' what it wanted in kind or did the officials 'buy' on the local market? Did the churches become even more important 'consumers' than the private individuals through the purchase of building supplies and ornamentation? Conversely, did the churches, by providing for the poor, re-distribute wealth without the need for monetary transactions? On a more individualized scale, did the passage of religious pilgrims and traveling bureaucrats add to the cash flow within the city?

The city's role as a center for the training of lawyers, the production of legal texts, and the publication of various legal rulings certainly had economic impact. In other words, it is likely that there were special demands for goods and services

in Berytus that might be unique to centers of education, such as Constantinople, Athens, and Alexandria.

The evidence from Late Antique Berytus, as from every other ancient city, is fragmentary and subject to the accidents of preservation and discovery. The sources consist of literary references, rulings in the legal codes, inscriptions, and some randomly preserved archeological evidence. I will attempt to reconstruct from these bits of evidence a reasonable framework of the economy of Berytus, with particular emphasis on the passages which directly mention the city.

Trade

The author of the fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* characterizes the coastal cities thus:

> Furthermore, all [the cities] depend on trade and have men rich in all respects: their skill in speaking, their effort, and their character. They have temperate breezes.[10]

The Phoenician merchants had traded throughout the Mediterranean for centuries.[11] With a naturally accommodating harbor which had been improved by the addition of a double mole in the shape of a crescent,[12] sea trade enriched the merchants of Berytus. Archeological evidence from Delos in the second century BC confirms the success of the merchants of Berytus in seaborne exchange of goods in the Mediterranean.[13] Berytus also served as a port on the sea for trade by the caravan routes from the interior of the Orient via such cities as Edessa.[14] References to the rich cargoes on ships in the harbor at the time of the earthquake in 551 AD indicate the extent of maritime involvement.[15]

Direct evidence for active maritime trade between Beirut and faraway ports, such as Brundisium, is supplied from the *Digest* by the description of legal arrangements made to secure a cargo.

> Callimachus received a bottomry loan from Stichus, slave of Seius, in the province of Syria, city of Beirut, destination Brindisi; sum in credit: two hundred sesterces for each day of the voyage; pledged as security: the goods bought at Beirut for carriage to Brindisi and any goods to be bought at Brindisi for return carriage to Beirut. And it was agreed between them that on arrival at Brindisi Callimachus should before 13 September following buy other goods, load them, and sail back to Syria, or that if by due date he had not bought other goods and left that city he should repay the whole sum as if the voyage were now terminated, and provide all necessary expenses for those persons carrying the money to enable them to take it to Rome. Promise for proper performance of all these things was called for by Stichus, slave of L.Titius, duly given by Callimachus.[16]

The use of Berytus as an example in this case of maritime law by Scaevola, the teacher of Paulus, who was one of the Severan jurists, suggests that ships with rich cargoes, routinely made the trans-Mediterranean sailing.

Archaeological excavations in Beirut have revealed a comfortable and successful artisan quarter in Late Antique Berytus which had beautiful houses and well-appointed shops.[17] Large finds of Late Antique coinage support the conjecture of prosperity based on trade, particularly with Constantinople.[18] Kevin Butcher, writing in a recent publication about these finds, notes:

> Most of the coins which have been found belong to the period AD 498–518, during the reign of Anastasius I. Coins of Anastasius' successors Justin and Justinian have been found, but not in any significant numbers. The prevalence of the coins of Anastasius is interesting, especially as most of them come from Constantinople.[19]

Textile production and trade

Procopius in *Anecdota* 25 describes the silk trade at Berytus and Tyre. The description is part of a larger attempt to discredit Justinian and Theodora by portraying their economic policies as not only harmful to the prosperity of certain classes, but even malicious and motivated by greed.[20] However, the information about the silk trade seems credible.

In his introduction to the passage about Berytus, Procopius refers to four groups adversely affected by Justinian's policy of establishing imperial monopolies: merchants (long-distance traders), sailors, workmen, and traders in the agora (local traders).

> And I shall now proceed to tell of his treatment of merchants and sailors and craftsmen and traders in the market-place and, through these, of all the others.[21]

Procopius, in this text, emphasizes the importance of importing silk from the East and reselling it at a reasonable profit. The loss of such trade adversely affected not only the merchants but the workers as well.

> But when these sovereigns had brought most of the merchandise under the control of the monopolies, as they are called, and every single day were strangling those who wished to buy anything, and only the shops where clothing is sold were left untouched by them, they devised this scheme for that business also. Garments made of silk had been wont from ancient times to be produced in the cities of Beirut and Tyre in Phoenicia. And the merchants and craftsmen and artisans of these stuffs had lived there from ancient times, and this merchandise was carried thence to the whole world. And when, in the reign of Justinian, those engaged in this trade both in

Byzantium and in the other cities were selling this fabric at an excessive price, excusing themselves with the statement that at the time in question they were paying the Persians a higher price than formerly, and that the customs-houses were now more numerous in the land of the Romans, the Emperor gave everyone the impression that he was vexed with this, and he made a general provision by law that one pound of this stuff should not cost more than eight gold pieces. And the penalty appointed for those who should transgress this law was to be deprived of all the money they had. This seemed to the people altogether impossible and out of the question. For it was not possible for the importing merchants, having bought these cargoes at a higher price, to sell them to the dealers for less. Therefore they no longer cared to engage in the importation of this stuff, and they gradually disposed of the remainder of their cargoes by rather furtive methods, selling no doubt to certain of the notables who found a satisfaction in making a shew of such finery through the lavish expenditure of their money—or, in a certain sense, they were obliged to do so. And when the Empress became aware of these transactions through the whisperings of certain persons, though she did not investigate the gossip that was going round, she immediately took the entire cargoes away from the men, and in addition, imposed upon them a fine of a centenarium of gold... But this particular business is under the control, among the Romans at least, of the official in charge of the imperial treasures. Consequently, having appointed Peter surnamed Barsymes to this position not long afterwards, they indulged him in doing execrable things. For while he required all other men strictly to observe the law, the craftsmen of this trade he required to work for himself alone, and he would sell dyes, no longer furtively but in the public square of the market-place, at the rate of no less than six gold pieces the ounce for ordinary quality, but more than twenty-four gold pieces for the imperial dye which they are wont to call *holoverum*.[22] And while he produced large sums from that source for the Emperor, he himself gained still more without being observed, and this practice, which began with him, has always continued. For he alone, up to the present time, is established, with no attempt at concealment, as both importer and retailer of this merchandise. Consequently the importers who in former times had engaged in this trade both in Byzantium and in the other cities, on sea and land, now had to endure, as was to be expected, the hardships arising from this procedure. And in the other cities practically the whole population found itself reduced to beggary. For the mechanics and the hand workers were naturally compelled to struggle with hunger, and many in consequence changed their citizenship and went off to the land of Persia. But always the Master of the Treasures stood alone as the sole manager of this business, and while he did consent to deliver to the Emperor a portion of its profits, as has been said, he carried off the greater

> portion for himself and was enriching himself through public calamities. So much then for this.[23]

Procopius says explicitly that the economy of Berytus and Tyre was dependent upon the silk-weaving industry.[24] Based on the current evidence, it seems that this silk was brought from China via Persia in hanks of silk thread and then was woven into fine textiles. Although there is some evidence that by the reign of Justin II (AD 565–78) that there might have been some local production of raw silk in the area around Tyre, there is nothing to support the conclusion that silk was locally produced prior to that time.[25]

Traditionally, it has been thought that the silk was brought to Berytus as silk thread or raw silk cloth which was unraveled and then rewoven to 'Roman' tastes. However, it has been recently suggested that a Chinese source may refer to sericulture in Syria in the fourth century AD.[26]

Although Procopius says in this passage that the commerce in silk was moved to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian while Theodora was alive (giving thus an end date of 548 AD), apparently both public silk-weaving 'factories' and private weaving workshops continued to function in Tyre as late as 570 AD according to the account of Antoninus Placentinus.[27]

Since Procopius claimed that the effects of imperial policy were disruptive to the economic *status quo,* Justinian's effort to establish monopolies might have arisen from a desire to ensure that certain high-status items were reserved for imperial usage or from an interest in concentrating any potential profit-taking in the capital.[28] But according to two legal rulings as early as the fourth century AD, only the *comes commerciorum* or his subordinate *commercii* could buy raw silk from the barbarians (Persians) at a price set at 15 *solidi* per pound; they were then to sell the raw silk to the *metaxarii* at the same rate.[29] So the attempt to control the level of profit-making by private merchants was not an unprecedented initiative by Justinian, but one that had apparently fallen into non-enforcement. The increased needs for revenues probably led to the re-imposition of a disused ruling which was clearly unpopular with the merchants of cities outside Constantinople.

There is further evidence for the level of wealth that could be gained from the production and sale of silk garments, at least by the persons to whom the profits accrued. Jones notes that the silk merchants *(metaxarii)* of Justinian's time must have been quite well-off because they were classed with the *argentarii* (silversmiths and bankers) in a ruling forbidding their buying 'court sinecures' for themselves and their sons. Jones assumes that this ruling applied to the merchants of Constantinople after the transfer of the monopoly to the capital.[30] Additional evidence for the wealth and status of merchants, specifically of expensive textiles, has been published by Pleket,[31] Matthews,[32] and Rey-Coquais[33] in their studies of inscriptions from other cities of the Greek East.

A passage from the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* suggests that linen cloth was also exported from Berytus and other nearby cities.

> The following [cities] are in the trade [or production] of linen cloth: Scythopolis, Laodiceia *[ad mare],* Byblos, Tyrus, and Berytus. These [cities] export linen cloth to all the world and are outstanding in every kind of wealth. Likewise moreover Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, and also Lydda, [export] genuine purple.[34]

The passage does not indicate the source of the linen, but the cloth was apparently woven and dyed in Berytus and the other cities mentioned.[35] Again, the evidence from the legal codes (discussed in Chapter 10) would suggest that the workers involved in this production were unfree.

From Jerome's commentary on the city of Tyre comes a description of the goods that the merchants of that city (and cities such as Berytus) bought and sold:

> Even today, however, there remains in the Syrians an inborn zeal for transacting business; they go about the whole world with a desire for money, and they have such a frenzy for trading, that even now when the Roman world has been beset upon, they seek riches in the midst of swords and the slaughter of unfortunate ones, and they flee poverty by means of dangers. Men of this kind are the business people of Tyre; who trade damask, purple, and checked garments; linen also, and silk and cotton they place in their trade. [36]

Jerome's account confirms that textile trade was financially rewarding to the merchants, and that it continued unabated in the midst of civil disturbances. The variety of goods seems to suggest reliable and varied sources of the traded textiles—that is, the merchants must have had secure contacts for obtaining goods to sell and the necessary capital for transport. Such success indicates arrangements that may have been carried on for centuries by certain families or possibly by certain guilds.[37] The exact arrangements may never be completely understood, but surely there was a network of supply, trade, and market that was predictable on some level. The testimony of Procopius and of the author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* states that Berytus, like Tyre, traded in these same exports. It is likely that whatever mercantile arrangements existed at Tyre were shared or replicated at Berytus.

Taxation as a measure of trade

Jones has noted that the cities levied various types of tolls, including harbor duties and *octroi* taxes at the city gates. From the time of Constantine onward, these taxes seem to have gone to the central government instead of to the cities themselves. An examination of these taxes, especially the ones directly attested for Berytus, should give us a glimpse into not only the kinds of taxes assessed, but the type and amount of mercantile transactions which took place.[38] Indeed,

the level of taxation discussed seems to assume a fairly ready flow of cash or goods in the city and in the countryside.

A tax known as the *lustralis* (named for a *lustrum* because it was originally due every five years) appears to be specifically documented for collection in the area of Berytus since the following law was posted at Berytus and mentions products very specific to Phoenicia, such as the 'purple dye fish.'

> All men now occupied in the pursuit of business, whether collectors of purple dye fish or merchants of any other guild, shall be compelled to the payment of the tax payable in gold which is levied upon tradesmen. For a special grant of imperial favor given to certain persons is a wrong committed upon the common people.[39]

This is clear evidence that the purple dyers and other merchants in the vicinity of Berytus were expected to be able to pay the *lustralis* tax in gold. This tax appears to have remained in place until the reign of Anastasius (late fifth to early sixth centuries). The *chrysargyon,* which amounted to 140 pounds of gold every four years, was imposed on *negotiatores*—those who made a living by buying, selling, or charging fees. Artisans (as well as moneylenders and prostitutes) were taxed on tools, animals, slaves, and even family members involved in their trade. Farmers, rural craftsmen, physicians, and teachers were exempt.[40] When this tax was abolished in 498 AD in Edessa, the residents of the entire city celebrated by a procession to the church of St Sergius and St Simeon.

> The edict of the emperor Anastasius arrived this year, remitting the gold which tradesmen paid every four years and freeing them from the tax. This edict did not go only to Edessa, but to all cities of the Roman domain. The Edessenes' four year payment had been one hundred and forty pounds of gold, and the whole city rejoiced (at its remission). They all dressed up in white, from the greatest to the least, and carrying lighted candles and burning censers, to the accompaniment of psalms and hymns, they went out to the *martyrion* of Mar Sergius and Mar Simon, thanking God and praising the emperor. There they held a eucharist, and on coming back into the city they extended the feast of joy and pleasure for a whole week, and decreed that they would celebrate this feast every year. All the tradesmen sat around and had a good time, [bathing and] relaxing in the courtyard of the (City) Church and all the city's colonnades.[41]

Clearly the artisans had attained wealth to be able to pay such a tax, but more importantly, they had acquired a substantial level of status to be honored by a public festival which involved every aspect of urban life.

The collection of *vectigalia* of 12.5 per cent or one eighth (=three *siliqua*) was promulgated at Berytus in the third quarter of the fourth century. Although the law was applicable throughout the empire, certainly the merchants of Berytus

could not argue that the tax was unknown tax to them. It is even possible that such laws were more vigilantly enforced in a city where the 'letter of the law' might have special significance. In other words, it may have seemed appropriate to the central government to ensure the enforcement of the laws in a city entrusted with the teaching and publication of the laws.[42]

> In the name of no person whatsoever shall any reduction whatsoever be made in the payment of imposts, but all classes of men who wish to engage in commerce shall pay the customary eighth, and no exception shall be made in this matter for military persons.[43]

Jones described this impost as a customs tax assessed on both imports and exports at the frontiers of the empire. The rate of 12.5 per cent (the *octava*) was a reduction from the 25 per cent assessed during the Principate. In an interpretation offered by the jurisconsults, *vectigalia,* 'imposts,' are defined as 'payments that are made to the fisc on account of transport by carriers, that is, when merchandise is transported in coastal places by ships or in other regions by vehicles.'[44]

Thus, merchants were liable for the payment of taxes both for products carried by sea or by the overland routes. It seems, however, that taxes were assessed not only on carriers of merchandise, but on other vendors within the city itself as the following regulations make clear. Such regulations imply a steady flow of cash necessary for their payment. In the mid-fifth century Valentinian III imposed another sales tax known as the *siliquaticum*. In the translator's notes on this *novella* given in 445 AD the term *siliqua* is defined as a twenty-fourth part of a *solidus* which would be a tax rate of little more than 4 per cent.[45] It appears that Valentinian III visualized a tax on every sale.

Valentinian complained that he had great trouble thinking how to raise new revenues, but he explained that he had to find a new sort of tax; otherwise, the landholder would be exhausted if he were expected to furnish anything else and the merchant would be oppressed by such a great burden. Therefore both the seller and the buyer would now be required to pay half a *siliqua* per *solidus* on each contract.[46] The law goes on to specify that a tax collector would oversee all sales, and his accuracy in record-keeping would be checked by the municipal magistrates and decurions.[47] In case the parties involved fail to pay the taxes, the tax collector would be liable; and if he did not pay, the municipal senates and provincial governors would be liable to pay them. This regulation was to be posted and observed in all provinces and all cities. Definite markets were to be established for the municipalities and their territories. These were to be regulated by the dignitaries, the municipal senates, and the citizens in the presence of the governor.[48] Such a regulation indicates regular markets at which an appreciable number of sales were made;[49] otherwise, the government would not have found it productive of income to establish the tax, with the concomitant cost of tax collectors' expenses.

Another type of tax seems to be involved in an inscription found in Berytus and dated to the Late Antique period.[50] In this inscription, a tax referred to as the *telos hekatostarion*[51] was imposed on various products and services. Delmaire has recently argued this was a municipal market tax, not a monthly tax of 1 per cent as Mouterde and Robert had suggested in their earlier publications of the inscription.[52] Delmaire calls this particular assessment a 'tax on sales' and states firmly that it had nothing to do with the *octava*.[53]

A key point of interest is what exactly was taxed in Berytus by this city tariff. Some of the items seem quite unremarkable.[54] The taxable items included 'fish liquid' *[garum?],*[55] bronze [containers?],[56] all salted or pickled items,[57] and foodstuffs in baskets.[58] Taxes were also collected from the stalls of the bean-sellers,[59] from the wine-sellers,[60] from the attendants (?) of the summer baths,[61] and from sellers of lentils (peas, beans, or nuts) in the shell imported from Cyprus. [62]

The absolute banality of items to be taxed in Berytus may be compared to those taxed in a tariff posted by the city of Palmyra in 137 AD. The 'new' city sales tax of Late Antique Berytus has many points of comparison to the 'old' sales tax of a city of the Greek East of the second century. For Palmyra, Matthews argues that the taxable items were taxed only if purchased within the city and thus represent sales tax for a city rather than a transit tax for overland trade. Taxes were imposed on the sale of slaves, dried foods, purpledyed fleece, unguent in alabaster jars or in goat skins, olive oil and animal fat either in goat skins or by the donkey load, salt fish, horses and mules, sheep or lambs, wheat, fodder, wine, and similar produce.

Additionally, monthly taxes were assessed on the incomes of prostitutes, workshops, general stores, importers or sellers of skins, and wandering vendors of clothing. Furthermore, taxes were imposed on the use of two water sources. Delmaire argues for the similarity of these two inscriptions and indeed they seem to express similar tax structures, although the Palmyrene edict set taxes in units of *denarii* and *asses,* frequently on the camel-load and donkey-load. The decree from Berytus was engraved only in Greek; the decree from Palmyra was inscribed in both Palmyrene and Greek.[65]

Although only a few tax tariffs have been preserved, the precision of their wording suggests that the government took more than a passing interest in the collection of revenues from trade on both a local and an intercommunal level. These regulations further indicate that trade and taxation were routine features in the life of the cities along the coast and in the interior, from the Roman through the Late Roman eras. The tax rates imposed on even modest sales and services reveal an active economy which could provide income for private citizens, the cities, and the central government. Finds of trade items (such as silk fragments) and coin hoards[66] suggest a rather elaborate system of trade that can be just glimpsed through the tax regulations on such exchanges.

Wealth from agricultural products

The author of the fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* attributed excellent crops of grain, wine, oil and other products to Berytus and the other coastal cities.[67]

> Moreover all these previously mentioned cities [Scythopolis, Byblus, Tyre, Berytus… Serepta et Cesarea et Neapolis, and also Lydda], [are] renowned and productive of grain, wine and oil. They also abound in all good things [or goods].[68]

Additional testimony for crops produced in or near Berytus comes from the journal of the Late Antique bureaucrat Theophanes mentioned above, who was traveling from Antioch to Egypt and back again in the years 317–24 AD. The notation of prices paid for the purchases of food for himself and the members of his party may either indicate actual cash paid or be a bookkeeping entry. The possibility of cash payments[69] may contradict the widely held view that the government took food for its bureaucrats by confiscation 'in kind.' Theophanes recorded in his ledger the following purchases at Berytus: two grades of bread ('pure white' for the officials, 'coarse' for the servants), grapes, figs, pumpkins or squashes, peaches and apricots as well as cleaning supplies of natron, bath oil, and soap. Similar purchases of bread and fresh produce, as well as wine (and snow to cool it at Byblos) were made at each daily halt along the way. Theophanes's journal entries may be used to suggest the pattern of consumption by other travelers through Berytus, such as pilgrims, government officials, and merchants. From such a record, one may deduce not only crops grown in the area but also the relative value of such produce.[70]

The text for the entry at Berytus records some purchases of food as well as some practical items for cleaning and staying warm. The entries are given in the same ledger format which appears in the original text:

335) b='Berytus'[71]
336) 'pure white morsels/loaves'[72]
337) 'bread of coarse quality for the servants/boys'[73]
338) 'cucurbits' (=pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers)
339) 'bunches of grapes'
340) 'figs'
341) *sapo, saponis,* 'soap'
342) Lat. *duracinum,* 'a kind of peach'[74] 'and apricots'[75]
343) 'olive oil for the bath'
344) 'natron;' used for soap or water-softener[76]
345) An unknown word in Greek or Latin but possibly 'a corrupt form of *saxatilis,* used of fish found in rock pools'[77]

346) '[fire]wood'
347) 'these are [expenses] of the day'.

Farmers produced other crops[78] such as apples, pears,[79] onions, and garlic for export or the local market. Heichelheim, in his economic study of Syria, based primarily on Talmudic references, papyri, and the geographers like Strabo, lists these as crops which grew in the area between Babylon and Palestine: wheat, barley, oats, several varieties of legumes, flax, cotton, hemp, various spices, vegetables, fruits, nuts, olives, and wine-producing vines.[80]

If a farmer transported produce for his own use or for the use of the central fisc, he would not be charged a tax. However, if he sold such produce, the usual tax was to be paid.[81] The subsequent ruling, issued only a few weeks later re-emphasized the exemption from taxation on items bought for the peasant's own use. It is interesting to note that the peasant as entrepreneur is suggested in the reference to buying goods with the intention of reselling at a profit.[82]

Additional laws posted at Berytus suggest that there were agricultural products coming from this area which the government may have preferred to take without payment in money, but in lieu of taxes. Both this law and the following one date from a period of military crisis (384) and may not reflect normal practice.[83]

Such a provision for in-kind payment of produce suggests either that prices at Berytus might reach such a level that the farmers would prefer to sell on the open market and pay taxes in cash and pocket the difference or it may indicate that the government needed food for its officials and soldiers and would prefer to omit the middle step of buying and selling once again.

Yet another law which was also posted at Berytus seems to suggest that the government had decided that confiscation of goods was not a sound policy. The law also refers to mandatory boarding of soldiers and government officials in the late fourth century, a few years after the disaster at Adrianople.[84] In the law, the great landholders were required to make supplies available for sale to the government, but the lower classes were exempt from this requirement.[85]

The 'Life of Severus' refers to 'peasants' or 'rustics' who were organized by a Christian named Constantine to disrupt a riot in the Late Antique city of Berytus. Because Trombley has postulated that this Constantine 'managed a large estate in the *territorium* of the city,'[86] there is the possibility of some large farms outside the city. It seems, however, that most of the evidence, as presented below, suggests relatively small holdings in the later period.

Marfoe, who studied the agricultural productivity of Berytus and the adjacent highlands in an extensive archeological survey, has suggested the following scenario for the development of the territory around Berytus in the Roman period. Land grants of 10–20 *iugera* were made to the discharged military settlers at the time of the establishment of the *colonia Romana*. These settlers may have been small freeholders or small farmers with perpetual low rent leases from the city.[87] The chronological sequence of inscriptions and land development suggests a gradual expansion of terracing the uplands and draining

the lowlands; that is, the inscriptions show progressive settlement towards the hills. The lowlands may have been farmed by workers on imperial estates or leaseholders of public lands.[88]

Marfoe noted in his archeological survey of the settlement patterns of the Biqaa Valley that agricultural exploitation increased from Hellenistic to Roman times.

> [T]he archaeological evidence from the Biqaa provides eloquent testimony. The density of settlement in every resource zone increased significantly from the Hellenistic to the Roman period with the result that a degree of land exploitation and settlement, which exceeded all preceding periods, was reached. As implied by settlement density, the extension of land use is most pronounced on the perennial piedmont wadi slopes, the rocky piedmont slopes, the active alluvial fans, the marshy depressions, the ephemeral piedmont wadis, and the colluvialalluvial terraces. In other words, they are precisely the locations that were less densely settled in the past. In contrast, the flood plains and the karstic spring oases, while still sustaining a density roughly equivalent to the previous period of maximum settlement in EB II-III did not gain significantly. Thus, the expansion of settlement and land use in the Roman period must be seen as an extension into areas previously only sparsely occupied, rather than an intensification of past patterns.[89]

Villagers of the highlands surrounding Berytus developed terraced farming which supported the production of a well-known Syrian wine.[90] Such terracing may have been subsidized by investments from the cities of Berytus and Heliopolis. The western part of the Biqaa Valley, with drier and gentler slopes, was cultivated for olive and fig production.[91] The olive presses at Khan Khaldé, 15 miles south of Berytus, on the road to Sidon, may be representative of presses in the vicinity of Berytus.[92] Marfoe suggested that the farmers may have practiced intercropping with cereals in the olive orchards. Levantine wheat was more expensive than Egyptian wheat but was superior to it.[93]

In the Late Antique period, there was a pattern of some settlement abandonment, but the overall density of settlement remained higher than in any other period except the Roman. The shift from the cultivation of the valley sides to the slopes may suggest a change to goat pastoralism.[94] Marfoe has suggested that the change to animal husbandry was prompted by a desire to evade taxes on richer agricultural lands and by the realization that fewer laborers were required for the tending of animals than for the maintenance of terraces and vineyards and olive orchards.[95] Such a transition might begin with 'mixed farming' of sheep pastoralism with olive culture.[96] To Marfoe, it seems evident that settlements in the valleys also converted to animal husbandry and relied on transhumance between the valley bottom and the now sparsely settled slopes. In summary, Marfoe finds a decline in the settled area of the Biqaa Valley from 280 hectares

in the Roman period to 240 hectares in the Byzantine period, a drop of 14 per cent.[97]

Marfoe concludes about the shifts in population in the Late Antique Biqaa Valley:

> The long time span involved, however, shows that the rate of depopulation was minimal (about 16 per cent over four centuries), and when rural abandonment did occur, as in the southern and central Biqaa (where the number of sites dropped by 50 per cent), this was mostly a shift toward concentration in larger settlements… Settlement was only maintained, and indeed, even augmented, in the least likeliest region of all, in the semi-arid north. The reasons for this are not at all clear… In fact, there is evidence that the state was vitally interested in this area in the Byzantine period.[98]

Marfoe suggests that the government's interest in establishing several military fortifications in this area (Joussiyeh in the fifth century and Maurikopolis in AD 582–602) were related to settlement patterns of the Biqaa Valley. One observable change was the intrusion of nomads and the change from agriculture to pastoralism.[99]

So for the issue of agricultural wealth, the following observations may be made. Land was a source of wealth by virtue of the crops produced. Such crops could be sold in the public market or paid in rents or exchanged for other goods and service. If they were sold there, they were subject to taxation. The tax tariff from Apamea may point to inland markets for the wheat, wine, and oil produced in the fertile parts of Syria, including the Biqaa Valley. There is ample evidence for payment of taxes in kind, that is for payment of taxes in foodstuffs, but the various regulations suggest that sales for cash were also possible. Furthermore, it appears that changes in agricultural productivity and pressure from tax laws may have influenced the farmers to change both their mode of production and their location in order either to reduce their tax liablity or to generate more income to meet it.

Redistribution of wealth by the church

From the *Apostolic Constitutions,* dated in one version to Antioch in the fourth century AD, and in another to Alexandria in the fourth century AD, there comes clear evidence for 'tithing' of agricultural products to the churches for the benefit of the clergy but also for charitable distribution to the poor.[100] Although not directly attested for Berytus, the practice appears to be part of the practice of the churches of the Greek East, especially in Syria and Egypt. The version from Alexandria speaks only of the 'blessing' of the 'first fruits:'

> Canon 36. Concerning the first fruits of the earth, the first of their floors and their presses: oil, honey, milk, wool, and the rest which one brings to

> the bishop for him to bless it. Whoever has the first fruits of the earth is to bring them to the church, the first of their floors and the first of their presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the first of the produce of the work of their hands, all this they are to bring to the bishop, and the first of their trees… Every vegetable, all the fruits of the trees, and all the fruits of the cucumber fields are to be blessed, and {also} him who brings them, with a blessing.[101]

In the version from Antioch, the 'blessing of the first fruits' has clearly become a donation to the church for the use of the clergy and others supported by the church:

> XXV. OF FIRST FRUITS AND TITHES; AND AFTER WHAT MANNER THE BISHOP IS HIMSELF TO PARTAKE OF THEM, OR TO DISTRIBUTE THEM TO OTHERS
>
> Let him use those tenths and first-fruits which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God. Let him dispense in a right manner the freewill offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who hath committed the disposition to him… Hear attentively now what was said formerly: Oblations and tithes belong to Christ, our High Priest, and to those who minister to him Those which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, are now oblations, which are presented by holy Bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who hath died for them. For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests; and your present deacons are instead of the Levites, as are also your readers, your singers, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans. But he who is above all these is the high priest.[102]

Donations from land-owners, and perhaps their peasants, may be inferred from the context of the two passages. In Late Antiquity the church became an agent for the redistribution of wealth, much as the Near Eastern temple had been in earlier periods. In addition to owning large agricultural tracts, the church accepted agricultural contributions in order to provide for the 'poor,' such as officially enrolled widows, and to support the clergy. Joshua Stylites in his *Chronicle* for the year 499–500 AD recorded the efforts of the church in the feeding of the poor in a time of famine in Edessa.[103]

Urban exchange of artisan goods and services

In many ways the provision of products and services by artisans to the purchasers is a standard feature of an ancient city. In some cases the artisans were slaves of the person or institution that wanted the product or service so no

question of price or wage need arise. Yet, as I argue in the section on artisans below, nearly every occupation had a wage established and every product had a price quoted in the *Edict of Diocletian*. Further, in the papyrus record of Theophanes (p. 32) prices are quoted for not only foods but also for other products. Thus it appears that at least some artisans and producers of other products expected to receive a cash payment for their goods and services.

The effect of the law schools on the economy of Berytus

In Berytus, in addition to rich land-owner or clergy as consumer, one can envision the demand for certain goods and services by the law professors, their students, and bureaucrats associated with government administration. It has, for example, been strongly suggested that certain manuscripts of legal texts were copied in Berytus,[104] either by the slaves of the law professors or by other trained copyists who may have worked for book dealers,[105] or the state or the schools.

In addition, the law professors were paid by their students, as the correspondence of Libanius makes clear. However, it is likely that some of the professors were appointed by the city council or the government and thus were salaried employees. In any case, there was an impact on the economy of Berytus by the presence of many young men who enjoyed the lifestyle of curial families.[106] Such students brought slaves with them; they were able to purchase books, to visit public amusements, and to enjoy the pleasures of good food if so inclined.[107] Additionally, it seems clear from the inscriptional, architectural, and legal evidence that the law professors themselves enjoyed a prosperous lifestyle.[108]

Conclusions about the economy of Berytus

The economy of Berytus during the fourth through the sixth centuries was similar to that of other Late Antique cities of the Greek East in many ways. However, the textile trade and production enriched not only the merchants and artisans, but also brought income to other citizens involved in providing lodging, transportation, and other services to them. The law schools attracted numerous students who brought sources of income to the city from their home provinces.[109] The ready availability of agricultural products seems to have provided income for the peasants and providers of foodstuffs. The travelers on private or official journeys also enhanced the flow of monetary exchange both within and beyond the city.[110] The government and the church were instruments of re-distribution of wealth by taxation or tithing, and by the provisioning of government officials or provision for the poor.[111]

However, the economy of a city like Berytus might more closely resemble that of Athens or Gaza than Alexandria or Antioch. Alexandria, had a widely based economy, drawing wealth from sales of agricultural products (chiefly wheat), production of manufactured goods (glass, linen textiles, and papyrus),[112] and

from the presence of various famous schools.[113] Antioch, as a center of administration and a focus of east-west trade, seems at first glance to have been wealthier than Berytus. But the susceptibility of the city to famine, outside attack from such groups as the Persians, and civic disorder do not parallel the situation of Berytus.[114]

Berytus drew income from a broad base: agricultural production, artisan production (especially of a very expensive textile), and income from activities related to the law school. Berytus was less wealthy than Tyre, whose wealth from the production and trade in textiles and purple dye was proverbial.[115] Yet Berytus seems to have been more prosperous than Athens, which was famed for its schools of philosophy but in Late Antiquity seemed to have declined economically.[116]

The city most like Berytus may have been Gaza which was famed for its schools of rhetoric, was a center of trade with Mecca even in the pre-Islamic period, supported paganism which centered on the shrine of Zeus Marneion until the beginning of the fifth century, and was described by the Antonine Pilgrim as a 'lovely and renowned city.'[117] The balanced economy of Berytus, encouraged by a favorable geographic location (discussed above) and a stable political situation (discussed below), may not have been unique to her among the cities of the Greek East, but it helped the city and the populace flourish for at least six centuries.

Notes

1 See Finley (1981), Hopkins (1978), and the Introduction of Garnsey, Hopkins, and Whittaker (1983) i–xxv, by Hopkins. Whittaker (1983) 163–80 in the same volume specifically addresses the question of trade in the Late Antique period. R.S.Moore (2000) has a lucid explanation of all the theories and issues involved in an understanding of trade and the economy in this period. See Wickham (1998) and Saller (2001) for new responses to Finley and Hopkins.

2 See now Mattingly and Salmon (2001) for a discussion of economies beyond agriculture, and Hendy (1985) for studies in the Byzantine economy.

3 J.F.Matthews (1984), especially 170–2. A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted as (1974) 55–8, concedes that Palmyra's wealth came from commercial activity but labels the city as an exceptional case. Matthews demonstrates in his study of the tax tariff how ordinary were the taxable items and how comparable the economy was to other cities of the Greek East. See now L.J.Hall (2001) for discussion of the economy of Berytus and Tyre; Walmsley (1996) for similar prosperity in Byzantine Arabia and Palestine; and A.E.Hanson (1992) and Bagnall (1993) for Egypt.

4 Commentary on Ostia by A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted in (1974) 54–5. For a detailed study of Ostia, see Meiggs (1973).

5 Joshua Stylites comments that the *collatio lustralis* collected in Edessa before its abolition in 498 amounted to 140 pounds of gold every four years, or 35 pounds of gold annually. A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted as (1974) 36 and A.H.M. Jones (1964) 465.

6 From a sixth-century papyrus comes the information that the annual tax on Heracleopolis in Egypt which was based on the commutation of the grain levy into gold and the land taxes in gold came to 57,500 *solidi* or 800 pounds of gold. A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted as (1974) 36; A.H.M.Jones (1964) 465.
7 Liebeschuetz (1972) 53 and n. 7 argues that the *collatio lustralis,* 'the Trader's Tax' (*Cod. Theod.* 13.1.1 ff. and Zosimus 2.38), 'fell equally on the sea traders, who might use the sea to avoid it, and on the poorest of shopkeepers.'
8 See Hopkins (1980) on taxes and trade in the Roman Empire.
9 See now Pleket (1983), (1984), and (1994) for the acquisition of wealth by trade.
10 'Omnes [civitates] autem per negotia stant et viros habent divites in omnibus et oratione et opere et virtute. Et aeres temperatos habent.' Latin text in *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* XXXIII (Rougé edition, p.166). My translation.
11 Picard (1921). See also Rey-Coquais (1993b) and Cunliffe (1988).
12 See Chapter 2 on geographical setting.
13 Rostovtzeff (1941) 791, 864 on trade of Berytian merchants; Picard (1920), (1921), (1935), and (1936) for epigraphic and archeological evidence from Delos.
14 Raschke (1978). A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted as (1974) 36. See also Millar (1998a); Casson (1980); and Garnsey and Saller (1987). See R.S. Moore (2000) for trade in the eastern Mediterranean in the years 100–600 AD, based on the pottery evidence, and Reynolds (1995) for trade in the western Mediterranean from 400–700. Reynolds (1997–8), (2000a), (2000b), (forthcoming a), and (forthcoming b) is systematically publishing the recent pottery finds from Beirut. For Edessa, see Ross (2001) and J.B.Segal (1970).
15 See Chapter 6 on the Late Antique city for the various accounts of the earthquake which feature the detail of greedy persons wading into the receding sea to salvage these cargoes, only to be drowned by the rush of the returning water.
16 *Digest* 45.1.122; quoted and discussed in Crook (1967), 224 and 326. Crook thinks that the case is imaginary because the slave's owner is listed with two different names, but he suggests that the contract follows the usual format. See also *Cod. Theod.* 13.9.1 (Pharr translation, 399) for a law which was given and posted at Berytus in 372 AD concerning the possibility of imperial compensation for loss due to shipwreck. This law clearly indicates that the potential for both gain and loss for shipping from the port of Berytus was substantial.
17 Butcher and Thorpe (1997); Perring, Seeden, Sheehan and Williams (1996); Perring (1997–8). Compare to the shops at Sardis, Crawford (1990). See also Gregory (1984) and (1994) and Greene (1986).
18 Compare with the richer record for Alexandria, as demonstrated by Haas (1997), and for Antioch in Liebeschuetz (1972) and Downey (1961). See also T. Williams, *et al.* 1996).
19 See Butcher (1996a) 210, (1997–8) 173–80, (2001–2), and (forthcoming) for fuller presentation of the coin finds in Beirut. This pattern of coin finds correlates well with evidence collected in the chapters on imperial support for the church in Berytus and the monastic movement outside the city, as discussed later in this work. Compare with Hohlfelder (1993) for finds of Anastasius's coins in Caesarea.
20 See Av. Cameron (1985) 49–66 and (1986) for an analysis of the elements of invective in Procopius' *Secret History (Anecdota)*. Procopius seemed unwilling to acknowledge the need for additional income to pay for the wars of reconquest and concerned himself with the 'costs' to the wealthier classes in this particular work.

21 Procopius, *Anecdota* 25.1, Dewing translation, 6:291.
22 Dewing 6:299, n. 2, translates *holoverum* as ‘all genuine’ and notes that it is a hybrid word [from Latin and Greek].
23 Procopius, *Anecdota or Secret History* 25.13–26; Dewing translation, 6:297–301.
24 See thorough discussion of the social role of the silk workers and weavers in Chapter 10 on artisans.
25 Muthesius (1995b) 320–5.
26 Muthesius (1991) 332–3, with references to Muthesius (1989) 136–7 and Muthesius (1993). It would have been possible from the time of Justinian onward for the silk to have been locally produced.
27 However, the western pilgrim considered the circumstances of the production degrading for the workers *(pessima vita)*. See the full passage in Chapter 10 on artisans, pp. 225–6.
28 See Oikonomides (1986b) 31–53 for the suggestion that Justinian acted to hurt the Persian economy. See Lopez (1945) for the idea that Justinian wanted to create monopolies as a general principle of imperial control.
29 A.H.M.Jones (1960b) reprinted as (1974) 362. *Cod. Just.* 4.40.2; Just. *Nov. App.* 5.
30 A.H.M.Jones (1960b) reprinted as (1974) 362. *Cod. Just.* 8.13.27.
31 Pleket (1983).
32 J.F.Matthews (1984).
33 Rey-Coquais (1977) and (1979a).
34 ‘In linteamina sunt hae: Scythopolis, Laodicia, Byblus, Tyrus, Berytus quae linteamen omni orbi terrarum emittunt, et sunt eminentes in omni abundantia. Similiter autem et Sarepta et Caesarea et Neapolis, quomodo et Lydda, purpuram alithinam.’ Latin text from *Expositio totius mundi et gentium,* ed. Rougé (XXXI E), pp. 163–5. My translation. See also the discussion in Chapter 10 on artisans.
35 See Mayerson (1997) for flax production in Egypt.
36 ‘Usque hodie autem permanet in Syris ingenitus negotiationis ardor, qui per totum mundum lucri cupiditate discurrunt et tantam mercandi habent vesaniam, ut, occupato nunc orbe Romano, inter gladios, et miserorum neces quaerant divitias, et paupertatem periculis fugiant. Istiusmodi homines negotiatores Tyri sunt qui polymita purpuram et scutulata mercantur; byssum quoque et sericum, chodchod proponunt in mercatu.’ Jerome, *In Ezech.* 27.15–16, *PL* 25.267C (see also *CCSL* 75). Latin text and English translation given in M.J. Kelly (1944) 32. Since it has been demonstrated by Wiesen (1964) and J.N.D. Kelly (1975) that Jerome was heavily influenced by Juvenal in his ascerbic manner of writing attacks of various kinds, we should note the animosity against the Tyrians. However, his account of their items of trade seems correct and expands our knowledge of the textiles that were traded. Jerome described the citizens of Tyre as Syrians; this may be a Western construction of identity rather than the view of the citizens of Tyre themselves.
37 See Wallace-Hadrill (1991) for elites and trade in the towns, and Van Nifj (1997) and Waltzing (1892) and (1895–1900) for the guilds.
38 See Hopkins (1980) for the relationship between taxes and trade; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* (1989) for an analysis of wealth in this period, and Carrié (1994) for exchange in Late Antiquity.

39 *Cod. Theod.* 3.1.9 (Pharr, p. 386) under the general title 'Lustral Tax payment' *(de lustrali collatione)*. Posted at Beirut on the day before the kalends of July in the year of the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus, June 30, 372.

40 Trombley and Watt (2000) 30, n. 144; Hendy (1985) 647.

41 *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite,* 31, translated in Trombley and Watt (2000), 30–1. Also translated in *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite,* Wright (1882), 22.

42 Publication of the laws at Berytus argued in McNamee (1995a and 1995b) and Collinet (1924).

43 *Cod. Theod.* 4.13.6 (29 January, 366; 369; 371). Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian Augustuses to Archelaus, Count of the Orient. Posted at Beirut on the fourth day before the kalends of February in the year after the consulship of Valentinian and Valens Augustuses. Pharr translation, p. 94.

44 Commentary on *Cod. Theod.* 4.13.1, July 1, 321. The law was repeated as *Cod. Just.* 4.61.4, but the commentary was not. Pharr translation, p. 94.

45 Pharr translation, p. 529, n. 2. See *Nov. Th.* 22.2.12; *Nov. Val.* 2; *Nov. Maj.* 7.16.

46 *Novella Valentini* 15, *De siliquarum exactionibus;* Pharr translation, p. 529 dated between 11 September, 444, and 18 January, 445 AD.

47 See Oikonomides (1986a) for seals used by the government officials. See also Bonifay (1996).

48 Pharr translation, p. 529.

49 MacMullen (1970) discusses market days in the Roman Empire.

50 Delmaire (1989) 297 still ascribes this inscription to the *Bas-Empire*. Mouterde had assigned it a date of 445 AD based on the law of the *siliqua* given above.

51 Three inscriptions on tax tariffs published as *SEG* (1989) 1575–7. See Mouterde (1942–3b) 33–40 for original publication. See Lauffray (1944–6) 78–80 for additional commentary and translation by Mouterde of this inscription.

52 *SEG* (1989) 1577; originally published as *CRAI* (1945) 377–80. See also Delmaire (1989) 297, as cited in *SEG* (1989) 1784. The French terms are supplied by the editors of *SEG* (1989) 1577.

53 Delmaire (1989) 297, n. 61.

54 Mouterde, published within the text of Lauffray (1944–6) 79. See West and Johnson (1944) for a helpful guide to the monetary units mentioned in the inscription.

55 *hydropissiou, poix liquide* [Mouterde].

56 *chalkouI*. See discussion of the *chalkourgos* inscription in Chapter 10.

57 *aliston, pickles, 'salaisons'* [Mouterde].

58 *kalathonia* (new word), *'denrées-en-corbeille'* [Mouterde]

59 *ospriachuron, 'chaume de légumineuses'* [Mouterde]

60 *propinarioi, 'cabaretiers'* [Robert]

61 *therina demosia,* 'summer baths' as opposed to 'winter baths' [Robert]

62 *lepoiron=lepuron, 'pois en cosse?'* [Mouterde].

63 J.F.Matthews (1984) 176–7.

64 See Burford (1960) for heavy transport in antiquity.

65 J.F.Matthews (1984) 157 and 174, n. 5 discards the suggestion by Teixidor, the primary translator of the Palmyrene text, that a Latin original lay behind the Palmyrene text. It should be noted, however, that the law was dated in very Roman fashion, followed by local calendar references: 'In the reign of the Emperor Caesar

Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, in the twenty-first year of his tribunician power, twice hailed imperator, three times consul, *pater patriae,* in the consulships of L.Aelius Caesar for the second time and Publius Coelius Balbinus. In the year 448, on the 18th of the month Xandikos.' (J.F.Matthews, 1984:174). Since Teixidor is perhaps uniquely knowledgeable about Semitic inscriptions, I do not think his suggestion should be so quickly dismissed by Matthews.

66 Raschke (1978).

67 See Tate (1997) for a description of the Syrian countryside; Mouterde (1940–41) for agriculture in Graeco-Roman Lebanon; Bowersock (1989) for general overview; Ball (2000) for other details of the terrain of the coastal cities; and Millet (2001) for productivity.

68 'Omnes autem praedictae civitates [Scythopolis, Byblus, Tyrus, Berytus… Serepta et Cesarea et Neapolis, quomodo et Lydda] gloriosae et fructiferae in frumento, vino et oleo. Hi et omnibus bonis abundant.' *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* XXXII E, (Rougé edn, pp. 165–6). My translation.

69 Liebeschuetz (1972) 84–6 presents evidence of cash payment for agricultural products; Libanius, *Oratio* 50.28, 31.

70 The text is given on page 142 of *PRyl* IV, and the introduction to the whole archive is on pages 104–7; translations are standard definitions unless they depend on the editors' note (as indicated by line.) The Greek usage reflects the Late Antique tendency to borrow Latinisms for bureaucratic accounts. Words with no special explanation are standard Greek. See also *PRyl* IV, 106–7, and 630–8:203–506 [now also available on the Packard Humanities Institute disk of inscriptions and papyri] for the distances traveled and foods purchased.

71 The designation is clear from the entire entry because this entry is given between Byblos and Sidon. The group bought snow to cool drinks in Byblos which was 24 miles from Berytus. After the purchases of food and cleaning supplies mentioned above at Berytus, they came to Sidon which was 34 miles away on the following day and bought eggs.

72 *PRyl* IV, p. 131, n. 10.

73 *PRyl* IV, p.122, n. 71=Lat. *cibarius panis* which is mentioned in Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.34.97 and Isidorus *Origines, s.v. panis cibarius est qui ad cibum servis datur nec delicatus*.

74 *PRyl* IV, p. 148, n. 342.

75 *PRyl* IV, p. 131, n. 159.

76 *PRyl* IV, p. 131, n. 101.

77 *PRyl* IV, p. 148, n. 332.

78 *Geoponika* has a section on agriculture attributed to Vindanios Anatolios of Berytus, a fourth-century writer who drew on the works of Varro and Virgil; see Rodgers (1978) and (2002), and Lemerle (1986). See Lewit (1991) for agricultural production from 200–400 AD. See also Levine (1992) for comparable productivity in the Galilee in Late Antiquity. See Lemerle (1979) for the evidence for Byzantine agriculture through the legal evidence and Magoulias (1990) for the evidence through the saints' lives.

79 See Virgil, *Georgics* 2.88, *Syriisque piris,* 'Syrian pears;' and Juvenal 11.73, *Syriumque pirium,* 'Syrian pear.' These may be archaizing or poetic usage, however.

80 See Heichelheim (1938) 127–40 for extensive documentation from primary sources; see also Cresswell (1965) and Callot (1982) for olive presses.
81 *Cod. Theod.* 4.13.2, July 13, 321; Pharr translation, p. 94.
82 *Cod. Theod.* 4.13.3, August 1, 321; Pharr translation, p. 94. See Teall (1971) and Lemerle (1979) for the role of the peasant in the Byzantine period.
83 *Cod. Theod.* 11.2.4, Pharr translation, p. 296, January 31, 384. See Morrison (1989) for money in Byzantine Syria and France (1994) for government finances.
84 *Cod. Theod.* 11.15.2, Pharr translation, p. 305, January 31, 384.
85 See Setton (1953), and Kaplan (1985) and (1992) for taxation of peasants; see Sirks (2001) for landlord law.
86 Trombley (1993) 2:39, based on *Vie de Sévère* 68. See chapter on administration of the Late Antique city for fuller discussion of the text and transliteration of the Syriac text.
87 Marfoe (1983) 470.
88 Marfoe (1983) 471. See also Heichelheim (1938), especially the section on The Land,' pp. 127–57 (crops, pp. 136–40). Consider also the agricultural productivity, especially viticulture, revealed for this period in northern Syria by Tchalenko (1953–8) and in the area of Palestine-Syria by Lewit (1991). See also MacAdam (1984) who gives special attention to the ability of the farmers of Syria and Phoenicia to utilize fully the arable soil along the hillsides (p. 50, noting the observations of the Princeton Expedition).
89 Marfoe (1978) 659–61.
90 See Pliny, *Natural History* XIV, 74 and XV, 74 for reference to Syrian wine exported as far away as India.
91 Marfoe (1983) especially 471. Marfoe is drawing from his participation in the intensive archaeological surveys made in the Biqaa Valley with the German mission, under the supervision of Prof. Dr R.Hachmann, Mr PeterJ.Parr, Emir Maurice Chéhab, M.Roger Saidah, Dr P.Bachmann, Prof. W.Ward, Dr L. Badre, and Prof. D.Baramki.Marfoe's dissertation (1978) has fuller details. *IGLS* VI 2945–6 has relevant inscriptions from the Biqaa.
92 Callot (1982) has complete drawings of the method of operation.
93 Marfoe (1978) 683–4.
94 Marfoe (1978) 681.
95 Chang (1994) discusses sheep in the ancient economy.
96 Marfoe (1978) 682–3.
97 Marfoe (1978) 685.
98 Marfoe (1978) 685–6.
99 Marfoe (1978) 686–7. See also Donner (1989) on the interaction between settled, pastoral, and nomadic peoples in the period from 400–800 AD.
100 See Constantelos (1991) for charity in this era, and Garnsey (1988) for risk of famine.
101 Hippolytus, *The Canons of Hippolytus* (Bebawi translation), pp. 33–4.
102 *Apostolic Constitutions* (Chase translation), pp. 40–2.
103 *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite,* chapters 38–45, translated by W.Wright (1882) 27–85, and in *the Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite,* chapters 38–45, translated by Trombley and Watt (2000) 37–47. Passsage presented and discussed in detail in Garnsey (1988) 3–7.

104 McNamee (1995a), (1995b), and (1998); Bischoff (1990) 72–6. Note also Libanius's exhortation to the father of a law student to pay his son's teacher cheerfully because he also furnished books.

105 Norman (1960) has assembled the references for the book-trade in Antioch, based mostly on the evidence of Libanius. Note also that part of the accusation against one of the believers in magical texts in Berytus was that he was arranging to have a *codex* copied. *Vie de Sévère,* as translated by Trombley (1993). See Parker (1992) for the production of the bilingual *Codex Bezae* in this period; Weitzman (1977) for book illumination; Haines-Eitzen (2000) for scribes; G.W.Clarke (1972) for additional evidence of books.

106 See Chapters 5 on the city and Chapter 9 on the students for evidence that many of the students were from curial families.

107 Evidence from *Vie de Sévère* and letters of Libanius.

108 Consider the example of the inscription to Patricius (Patrikios), a famous law professor, published in Collinet (1925) 135–8, and in *IGLS* (1906) 170–1, no. 36. Also, it is possible that an elaborate villa such as the one at Soueidié-Baabek belonged to a law professor. See Chéhab (1958) 29–52 for discussion and Chéhab (1959), pls XI–XXVI for photographs of the mosaics with philosophical and mythological themes. See below for further discussion in the section on mosaic artisans. Salaries and benefits of the professors are stated in the codes: *Cod. Theod.* 13.3; 13.4.4; 14.9.3.

109 Collinet (1925) 61–98 has collected the names of law students from Berytus mentioned in various literary sources, especially the *Vie de Sévère* and the letters of Libanius. These do not add up to a great number. Since the city was renowned for centuries for the presence of the law schools, one must assume a steady flow of students, however.

110 See Rich and Wallace-Hadrill (1991) for exchange between the city and the countryside.

111 See Lewin (2001) for civic finance in the fourth century, Liebeschuetz (1996a) for civic finance in Egypt, and A.H.M.Jones (1960a) for church finances in the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

112 A.H.M.Jones (1955), reprinted as (1974) 59–60; see also Haas (1997).

113 See Trombley (1993) 2:1–20 for Severus's time as a student in Alexandria. Alexandria was celebrated for schools of astronomy, medicine, and mathematics, in addition to schools of grammar and rhetoric. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.16.17–18; Gregory Nazianzus *Oration* 7.6–7; A.H.M.Jones (1964) 999.

114 See Downey (1961) for a comprehensive study of Antioch, Liebeschuetz (1972) for detailed study of Antioch in the fourth century, and H.Kennedy (1985a), (1985b), (1992) for briefer studies of Antioch in the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. See Lassus (1977) for an archaeological survey of Antioch. For an excellent historiographical study of Antioch, see Bowersock (1994).

115 For Tyre, see Fleming (1915); Jidejian (1969); Joukowsky (1992); J.H. Humphrey (1986); and Ball (2000).

116 Castrén (1994); see also Av. Cameron (1993a) and (1993b).

117 Downey (1963); see also L.J.Hall (2001).

4
BERYTUS AS *COLONIA* AND *CIVITAS*

The earlier eras

The urban persona of Berytus, like that of most cities of the Greek East, had been influenced by a succession of rulers who imposed distinctive patterns of political administration. Berytus was known as the 'Phoenician' city Beruta in the Tell al-Amarna tablets (fourteenth century BC)[1] and in the inscriptions of Ramses II (thirteenth century BC)[2] and Asarhaddon (seventh century BC).

In the Hellenistic period Berytus issued coins with Greek and Punic legends and was called 'Laodicea in Phoenice' from the time of Antiochus IV.[3] The independent status of Berytus as a city was guaranteed by Tigranes in 81 BC.[4]

From the control of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, Berytus passed to Roman influence in 64 BC as one of the Hellenistic cities in the new province of Syria established by Pompey's settlement of the East. Strabo's description of Pompey's suppression of the Ituraean 'bandits'[5] provides information about both the rural and urban areas around Berytus:

> After Macras one comes to the Massyas Plain, which contains also some mountainous parts, among which is Chalcis, the acropolis, as it were, of the Massyas. The beginning of this plain is the Laodiceia near Libanus. Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers; and when the latter are harassed by the robbers at different times they require different kinds of help. These robbers use strongholds as bases of operation; those, for example, who hold Libanus possess, high up on the mountain, Sinna and Borrama and other fortresses like them, and, down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the castle that was erected on Theuprosopon. Pompey destroyed these places; and from them the robbers overran both Byblus and the city that comes next after Byblus, I mean the city Berytus, which lie between Sidon and Theuprosopon.[6]

From this account it seems that both Byblos and Berytus were temporarily overrun by the men (Ituraeans and Arabs) from the mountains. Clearly Strabo

thought of Byblus and Berytus as cities distinct from the surrounding rural areas populated by farmers. The 'bandits' were perceived as more aggressive than either the farmers or the city-dwellers. The troops of Pompey dealt with the bandits at that time, but another Latin inscription of the early first century AD honored yet another Roman leader against the Ituraean bandits[7] who must have remained a perennial problem for the more settled people in the plains and cities.[8]

In 42 BC Mark Antony gained control of the East after the battle at Philippi. About 38–37 BC, Berytus was included in the gift of land and cities (Biqaa Valley and the coastal towns) given by Mark Antony to Cleopatra[9] as recorded in Josephus:

> He [Mark Antony] also gave her [Cleopatra] the cities between the Eleutherus River and Egypt[10] with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free from the time of their ancestors, although she earnestly pleaded that they be given to her.[11]

Colonia Romana

The defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by Octavian brought a new potential to the East, and in particular, to Berytus. As part of a general policy to establish colonies for the re-settlement of soldiers and for the defense of the frontiers, Augustus is thought to have established a colony at Berytus for the veterans of Actium (31 BC).[12] However, there may have been some delay between the victory at Actium and the actual foundation. In fact, when Cassius Dio recorded the visit of Augustus to the eastern provinces in the years 22 to 19 BC, there was no reference to Berytus but rather to the cities of Tyre and Sidon. After visiting Samos, Asia, and Bithynia, Augustus went on to Cyzicus and Syria:

> For although these provinces as well as those previously mentioned were regarded as belonging to the people, he did not for that reason neglect them, but gave most careful attention to them all, as if they were his own. Thus he instituted various reforms, so far as seemed desirable, and made donations of money to some, at the same time commanding others to contribute an amount in excess of the tribute. He reduced the people of Cyzicus to slavery because during a factious quarrel they had flogged and put to death some Romans. And when he reached Syria, he took the same action in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their factious quarrelling.[13]

Either the colony was not yet founded at Berytus or it was not large enough to merit mention by Cassius Dio. The reputation of Tyre and Sidon for *stasis,* or 'revolution,' seems of long duration. The 'punishment' of these two cities may have influenced the Roman colonization of Berytus and may provide an

explanation for the continuous ‘competition’ between Tyre and Berytus that persisted into the Severan period and later.

According to Strabo, Berytus was given two legions by Agrippa who was undoubtedly acting in the name of Augustus. Whether this passage refers to a founding or a reinforcement of the colony is open to continued debate.[14]

> Then, after Byblus, one comes to the Adonis River and to Mt. Climax and to Palaebyblus; and then to the Lycus River and Berytus. But though Berytus was razed to the ground by Tryphon, it has now been restored by the Romans; and it received two legions, which were settled there by Agrippa, who also added to it much of the territory of Massyas [Marsyas], as far as the sources of the Orontes River.[15]

Further literary evidence consists of the entry from Jerome’s *Chronicle: Coloniae Berytum et Patras deductae. Bosforum Agrippa capit*.[16] A date of 15 BC[17] or 14 BC[18] for the foundation of the Roman colony at Berytus has been deduced from this chronology. Although it has usually been argued that some veterans were settled there even sooner, perhaps immediately after Actium[19] but before 27 BC,[20] the bulk of the evidence supports the later date of 15/14 BC.[21]

The military connections of the colony

The founding legions of the colony, *V Macedonica* and *VIII Gallica,* are known from coins showing their eagles.[22]

According to Tacitus *Annals* 4.5, there were four legions in Syria from the time of Augustus: *III Gallica, VI Ferrata, X Fretensis,* and *XII Fulminata*.[23] The legions of the frontier provinces which are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* include: III Gallica and I Illyricorum in Phoenice, IIII Scythica and XVI Flavia Firma in Syria, IV Parthica in Osrhoene, and I and II Parthica in Mesopotamia.[24]

The city coinage of Berytus, issued in the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, Nerva, and Trajan, emphasized its foundation as a colony by Augustus. On these coins a veiled Augustus is shown plowing the *pomerium* of the city with an ox and a cow.[25] Until the mid-third century AD the official name of the city on the coins reflected its status: *Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*.[26]

It seems in fact that the city remained something of a garrison town because it supplied Varus with 1500 troops, described in one passage as heavy infantry[27] but in another as auxiliary troops,[28] as he passed from Antioch to Jerusalem on campaign sometime between 7 and 4 BC.

In the reign of Nero, Berytus furnished troops for the fighting in Judaea, under the leadership of the governor Cestius Gallus who set out from Antioch.[29] With a detachment of these troops, an attack was made on Chabulon. The general burned the city although he found it to be beautiful, ‘with its houses built in the style of of those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus.’ Josephus notes that the ‘Syrians’ from Berytus were still occupied in pillage when the Jews returned and killed

about two thousand of the soldiers from the province of Syria under Roman command.[30]

Vespasian had connections to the soldier-colony at Berytus. Having left Caesarea, the new emperor received declarations of support at Berytus from various embassies, from Syria and other provinces, the legions, and the governor of Syria, Mucianus.[31] This connection of Berytus and the Flavians is reported more than once in the narratives of Josephus. The Jewish historian, when describing Titus's progress through the East, moving from Caesarea to Berytus, describes the manner of execution of Jewish captives in both Romanized cities:

> During his stay at Caesarea, Titus celebrated his brother's birthday[32] with great splendour, reserving in his honour for this festival much of the punishment of his Jewish captives…in contests with wild beasts or with one another or in the flames exceeded two thousand five hundred… After this Caesar passed to Berytus, a city [polis] of Phoenicia and a Roman colony. Here he made a longer sojourn, displaying still greater magnificence on the occasion of his father's birthday [November 17], both in the costliness of the spectacles and in the ingenuity of the various other items of expenditure. Multitudes of captives perished in the same manner as before.[33]

It seems clear that both Caesarea and Berytus had amphitheaters and audiences who would be supportive of Roman gladiatorial combats. In these two colonies, the victorious Roman general and future emperor felt at home and could celebrate his victory in the traditional Roman manner, with an audience of supportive soldiers.

The colonists enjoyed special privileges (to be discussed on p. 51) and the daughter city mimicked the mother city as closely as possible in regard to political organization and religious functions. Such a colony was intended as a microcosm of Roman government.[34] The following inscription reflects the continuance of colonial status in the century after Augustus. The traditional language of acknowledgment of an honor in the Roman style has persisted well after the original colonists and their immediate heirs were deceased. One notes also the 'Roman' attention to such anniversaries as the *saeculum*.

> To the fortune
> of the Genius (Tyche)
> of the colony,
> Marcus Julius Avidius Minervinus,
> a resident of Emesa,
> having been honored by a crowning[35]
> by decree of the decurions, a century

> after the founding of the colony,
> has done [this] at his own [expense].[36]

Citizenship in the colony

In Berytus, as in other Roman colonies,[37] the system of city administration was a microcosm of the government of Rome. The *boule* or council was in a sense a miniature of the Senate; the course of offices echoed the typical Roman municipal *cursus honorum*[38] as confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

The following inscription, set up at Berytus, honors an equestrian officer whose civil career is illustrative of the local government of the city. Q. Aemilius Q.f. Pal(atina) Secundus seems to have been one of the first colonists in Berytus. It has been suggested that his family had its roots in Venetia, Italy. He belonged to the *tribus Palatina,* and not to the *Fabia,* which is the one set up for Berytus; probably it was his Italian *tribus*.[39] Having served under P.Sulpicius Qurinius who was governor of Syria from 6–7 AD,[40] this particular official rose to offices of quaestor, aedile, and *duumvir* and served *as pontifex* in the colony of Berytus.

> Quintus Aemilius Secundus, son of Quintus, of the Palatina Tribe, serving in the camp of the deified Augustus under Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, Caesar's legate in Syria, won military honours as prefect of the First, Augustan, Cohort and of the Second, Naval, Cohort. On the orders of Quirinius I was also the person who conducted the census of the city of Apamea; 117 thousand citizens of both sexes. I was also despatched by Quirinius against the Ituraeans in Mount Lebanon and captured one of their strongholds; and prior to military service I was prefect of engineers on the accredited staff of the consuls, and quaestor, twice aedile, twice duovir, and pontiff in the colony. On this spot were laid to rest Quintus Aemilius Secundus, son of Quintus, of the Palatina Tribe, my son, and Aemilia Chia my freedwoman. This tomb will not pass further to the heir.[41]

Another officer L.Domitius C.f.Fab(ia) Catullus may have been a *praefect* in Berytus or have held a military appointment because he was registered in the *tribus Fabia*. It is possible that he was one of the earliest colonists.[42]

As Devijver has noted, 'it is the Augustan *colonia* Berytus that produced the first equestrian officers as well as the first senator to ascend via the *militiae equestres:* M.Sentius Proculus, perhaps adlected by Vespasian.[43] Two inscriptions to M.Sentius Proculus were found at the intersection of Rue Weygand and Rue Allenby and subsequently displayed in the Museum in Beirut. The wording is identical on the two statue bases, although the spacing differs somewhat. Cagnat suggested a date at the end of the second century AD or beginning of the third century AD, but Bowersock would attribute it to the reign of Vespasian in the first century AD. He has suggested that the honoree

M.SENTIUS PROCULUS, SEX. F., FAB. (=Marcus Sentius Proculus, son of Sextus, member of the Fabian tribe which was the voting division) was adlected by Vespasian to serve in the Senate at Rome. Bowersock notes that M.Sentius Proculus served as a *duumvir* which was one of the two chief administrators of a city (similar to a consul in Rome but in much smaller setting), that he was a decurion which would make him a member of the city council, and that he was honored as a *patronus coloniae* which suggests some sort of largesse toward the city or representation of its interests to outsiders.[44] The other offices listed in the inscription indicate military service outside Berytus.[45]

Bowersock has also noticed that there is another inscription to SEX. SENTIUS PROCULUS, SEX F., FAB. (=Sextus Sentius Proculus, son of Sextus, member of the Fabian tribe) who is honored as *IV vir viarum curandarum,* 'one of four men in charge of caring for the roads,' and *Quaestor* (treasurer or military officer) in Asia. Bowersock classes him as a Roman senator also in the same time frame and speculates that these two men were brothers and may thus represent the rise of local elites in the administration of the city and in the service of the empire.[46]

C.Valerius T.f.Fab(ia) Rufus was honored in approximately 112–120 by the *decuriones* of Berytus and was presumably a descendant from a colonist since he is listed as a member of the Fabian tribe. After his rather meritorious three tours of military service *(tres militiae),* he deputized for the emperor in the town: 'prefect of the the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, father of his country, functioning with the power of duumvir. [47]

In the late fourth century an edict to draft the sons of veterans was issued from Berytus. The designation of Berytus as the *locus* for the issuing of such an edict may have been just a reflection of the emperor's residence at the time. However, it may also reflect that the city continued to have a military character as a Veteran colony.'[48] Similar edicts were subsequently issued in 372 AD at Rome,[49] in 380 AD at Damascus[50] and Thessalonika,[51] and in 398 at Milan,[52] no doubt in response to urgent military crises. Veterans were given some specific benefits, such as freedom from municipal liturgies and taxes by a rescript of Constantine. These were repeated in 366 AD with an added privilege for veterans to engage in business—to buy and sell—free from customs fees.[53]

The colony in the time of the Severans and Late Antiquity

In the administrative arrangements made by Septimius Severus (194 AD), Berytus remained a *colonia* within the province of Phoenice whose capital was nearby Tyre. Tyre seems to have maintained superior status because of her support of the Severans in the civil war against Niger. Berytus was allowed to retain her status as a Roman colony, but was deprived of the territory of Heliopolis which was made into a separate colony. The grant of colonial status to Heliopolis as a consequence of this civil war was stated clearly by Ulpian, a native of Tyre: There is also the Heliopolitan [colony] which received the

political status of Italian colony from the divine Severus through the events of the civil war.'[54] From the reign of Severus to Gallienus, Heliopolis minted coins with the inscription *COL (IUL AUG FEL) HEL.*[55]

The territory of Berytus is thought to have included the Biqaa Valley and Heliopolis until the founding of the sister colony Heliopolis.[56] Both colonies were called *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix,* but no coins minted by Heliopolis have been found before the time of Septimius Severus.[57]

Herodian describes the support which Tyre gave Septimius Severus in the civil war against Pescennius Niger (late second century AD) as deriving in part from a traditional rivalry between the citizens of Tyre and Berytus.

> While these events were taking place in Cappadocia, there was an outbreak of local rivalry in Syria by Laodicea which hated Antioch, and in Phoenicia by Tyre through enmity with Berytus. When both these cities [Laodicea and Tyre] heard that Niger had been routed they seized their chance to strip Niger of his honours and to recognize Severus.[58]

Berytus was allowed to retain the *ius Italicum* which seems to have conferred some exemption from taxation, perhaps only *tributum,* and citizenship.[59] The 'Italian right' of Berytus is mentioned in rulings given by various jurists of the Severan era. Gaius grouped Berytus with Troas and Dyrrachium as a city which enjoyed the 'Italian right.'[60] Paulus listed the cities with the benefit of the Italian right' as Laodicea in Syria, Berytus in Phoenicia, and Tyre.

> Paul in his second book concerning taxes [wrote]: Laodicea in Syria and Berytus in Phoenice and their territories are of the Italian right.' Also the city of the Tyrians was granted the same right by the divine Severus and Antoninus [Caracalla]. The divine Antoninus [Caracalla] made the Antiochene colonists free from tribute.[61]

Ulpian furnished additional information about the status of Berytus as part of his explanation of the taxable status of the cities of Syria Phoenice. He noted that he had first-hand knowledge of this status because of his origin from Tyre:

> It should be known that certain colonies have the Italian right,' as does the most splendid colony of the Tyrians in Syria Phoenice, whence is my origin, [a city] distinguished in its territory, most ancient in the passage of the ages, powerful in arms, most tenacious of the bond which it has struck with the Romans; to her indeed the divine Severus, and our emperor [Caracalla], on account of her distinguished faithfulness toward the Roman government and the Roman empire gave the 'Italian right/But also [there is] the Berytian colony in the same province, favored by the kindnesses of Augustus, and (as the divine Hadrian said in a certain speech) an Augustan colony, which has the 'Italian right.' [62]

The inscription on the base of a Palmyrene bust that has been dated to the first half of the third century indicates that the status of 'Berytian colonist' was worthy of notice:[63] 'Marcus Julius Maximus Aristeides Colonist Berytian Father of Lucilla, wife of Pertinax. [64]

It is inreresting to note the interaction of three cultural identifiers in this inscription. The names reflect both Greek and Latin elements,[65] the inscription itself is in Greek and a Semitic language, and the legal status is a 'Roman' concept. Millar has noticed that the Latin term *colonus* seems to have become *kolon* in the Greek and the Palmyrene (here transliterated as QWLWN and probably pronounced like the Greek).

The following two Late Antique references to Berytus as a Roman colony founded by Augustus suggest that this continued to be an important cultural identifier of Berytus. The first reference occurs in Jerome's letter describing Saint Paula's journey to the Holy Land. Jerome's description of Berytus as the *colonia Romana* might suggest that even in Rome among aristocratic or ecclesiastical personages,[66] Berytus had such an identifying tag. Both Millar[67] and Rey-Coquais[68] have found it noteworthy that such a designation continued into the Late Antique period. However, such a designation may indicate how outsiders regarded Berytus rather than revealing what the people of Berytus thought of themselves.

> I pass over the journey through Syria Coele and Phoenicia (for I am not disposed to write a *trip-diary*[69] of this [journey]): I will only name those places, which are contained in the sacred volumes. Having passed by Berytus, the Roman colony, and the ancient city Sidon, she [Paula] entered the little tower of Elias on the shore of Sarepta, in which she worshipped the Lord Savior; [she passed] across the sands of Tyre, on which Paul had fixed his knees; she arrived at Acco, which is now called Ptolemais, and she entered the land of the Philistines through the fields of Megiddo [which were] witnesses of the slaughter of Josiah.[70]

The other Late Antique reference to Berytus's origin as a colony founded by Augustus after his defeat of Cleopatra occurs in Nonnus's *Dionysiaca*. This collection of myths (written in the fifth century AD) includes references to the foundation legend of Berytus related to the nymph Beroe. Although the poem was intended for a wider audience than readers in Berytus, the identity of Berytians as descendants of the soldiers who saved the empire is reinforced. The contemporary role of Berytus as the font of Roman law was praised in a way that would continue to foster the self-image of Berytians as uniquely 'Roman' in a Greek-speaking world.

> When Augustus shall hold the sceptre of the world, Ausonian Zeus will give to divine Rome the lordship, and to Beroe he will grant the reins of law, when armed in her fleet of shielded ships she shall pacify the strife of

> battlestirring Cleopatra. For before that, citysacking violence will never cease to shake citysaving peace, until Berytos the nurse of quiet life does justice on land and sea, fortifying the cities with the unshakable wall of law, one city for all the cities of the world.[71]

Clearly, some four centuries after the event, the legend' of the foundation of Berytus by Augustus was maintained, at least in the sophisticated literary work of Nonnus. The poetic references to Cleopatra concur with Strabo's mention of the establishment of veteran colonies after the battle of Actium. Thus, among the literate classes of the Greek East which would certainly include the law students and their professors, the association of Berytus as first a veteran colony and then the center of legal studies was continued through the fifth century AD.

City and council *(Boule):* the role of the curial classes

It seems that in Berytus as in most other cities of the East, the duties of serving in the *curia* became increasingly onerous and less honorable.[72] Persons in various situations had to be exhorted to fulfill their curial duties or *munera* in the legal edicts.[73] In a rescript of Caracalla, a citizen of Byblos who has removed to Berytus for an unstated reason is told that he must practice his *munera,* 'duties,' toward both cities.

> Since you state that you, a citizen of Byblos by origin, are an inhabitant among the Berytians, justly you will be compelled to perform [curial] duties in both cities.[74]

The following inscription of the fourth century AD which honored Leontius, the Praetorian Prefect and *consul ordinarius,* was raised at the expense of the *ordo Berytiorum,* that is the city council, *boule* or *curia*.[75] This has been said to be the latest known Latin inscription from Berytus, a city which competes with Corinth in the amount of Latin epigraphy coming from the 'Greek East.'[76]

> To [Flavius Domitius] Leontius,[77]
> praetorian [prefect][78] and ordinary consul,
> prompted by his merits which carried him through
> the individual grades of offices to these
> summits of distinction,
> the decrees of the province of Phoenice
> having been confirmed by the divine opinion of our lords, eternal
> princes, Constantius and Constans,
> the [curial] order of the Berytians set up this statue of bronze at their
> own expense and dedicated [it] to one considered a statesman.[79]

The inscription cites the high points of a traditional senatorial *cursus honorum* but praises the holder for high imperial office rather than for local curial achievements. The conservatism of Berytus is suggested by the traditional wording and the continued use of the Latin language. Here the persistence of Latin terminology for political office suggests an 'audience' of citizens who would identify with both the linguistic and political implications of 'Roman' city life rather than the 'Greek' urban structures of other Eastern cities.

The words of Libanius on the demise of the city councils in his funeral oration for Julian have been taken to be generally applicable not only to Antioch[80] but also to other cities of Syria and Phoenicia.[81]

> He [Julian] showed the same care also in relation to the councils in the cities, which formerly flourished in both numbers and wealth, but by that time had come to nothing, since their members, except for a very few, had switched course, some into military service, some into the Senate The remainder were all but sunk, and for the majority of them undertaking public services *[to leitourgein]* ended in beggary. Yet who does not know that the vitality of its council is the soul of a city?[82]

Notes

1 Saidah (1970); W.A.Ward (1970) 27–30; Röllig (1983); Kuhrt (1995); Elayi (1980) and (2000); Elayi and Sayegh (1998).

2 W.A.Ward (1970) 30–7; Weissbach (1922).

3 Millar (1983b) 56; Lauffray (1978) 145–6; Rouvier (1900).

4 The pre-Roman eras (as well as the Roman and Byzantine) are well-documented in Lauffray (1978) and in Mouterde (1964). See Millar (1983b) for the Phoenician period, Grainger (1990) for the Seleucid period, and Millar (1987b) and Grainger (1991) for the Hellenistic period. Millar (1990) and (1993) emphasize the Roman period but review some of the evidence for the earlier periods. See G.F. Hill (1910) 51–3 for Hellenistic coinage of the city which shows Tyche on one side and Baal-Berith on the other.

5 See A.H.M.Jones (1931) and Isaac (1992) 60–2 and 318–21 for fuller treatment of the Ituraean bandits. There were inscriptions to soldiers from Heliopolis as well: *IGLS* VI.2711–12, 2714, 2789, and 2848.

6 Strabo 16.2.18; Jones translation, 7:263.

7 *CIL* III.6687=*ILS* 2683. The campaign has been dated to 6 AD by Isaac (1992) 61. See the section below on the administration of the *colonia* for full Latin text, English translation, and discussion.

8 Isaac (1992) 61.

9 Lauffray (1978) 146. Coins struck at Berytus in this period bear the likeness of Cleopatra VII. See Seyrig (1950) 43–4 for two coins of Cleopatra minted about 36–5 BC in Berytus. Millar (1990) 11 dates the grant to 37–6 BC.

10 Translator's note: The cities on the sea-coast of Phoenicia and Palestine.'

11 Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.95; translation by Marcus and Wikgren, 8:47. Compare Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.80 which says that Mark Antony had previously given Cleopatra Coele-Syria.
12 Millar (1990) has the definitive discussion of Berytus as Roman colony. He acknowledges debts especially to Rey-Coquais (1978d) and Isaac (1992) which is a second edition of an earlier publication. See also Keppie (2000) 75–96, for a full discussion of the fate of the troops of Mark Antony. Keppie argues that only original troops of Augustus settled in Berytus and that Antony's veterans were sent elsewhere.
13 Cassius Dio 54.7.5–6; Cary translation, 6:299–301.
14 Personal correspondence from Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, Summer 2003.
15 Strabo 16.2.19, Jones translation, 7:263–5.
16 Jerome's *Chronicle;* ed. Helm (1956) 166.
17 See Millar (1990) 12 for thorough discussion.
18 Isaac (1992) 318.
19 Strabo 8.7.5 (387) which refers to the settlement of soldiers after Actium.
20 Based on *CIL* III.14165; Isaac (1992) 318, n. 32.
21 Pollard (2000) 61.
22 For coins see Hill (1910), no. 51 and pl. VIII. 10; Mouterde (1964) coin 145 on pp. 164–5; Jidejian (1973) pls 130–5; Lauffray (1978) 145. See Millar (1990) 12 for discussion. Isaac (1992) 118, 428, and 431 cites epigraphic evidence for presence of *V Macedonica* in vicinity of Emmaus during the Bar Kockba war.
23 See note on Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.504; Thackeray translation, 2:516–17.
24 Pollard (2000) 138. For the *Notitia Dignitatum,* see the articles by J. Ward (1974), MacAdam (1989), and the translation by Fairley (1899).
25 Hill (1910) 53–92. Jidejian (1973) pl. 130 shows one of these coins.
26 Mouterde (1964) 164, n. 2; Millar (1993) 279.
27 Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.66.
28 Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.287.
29 See note on Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.504; Thackeray translation, 2:516–17.
30 Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.499–501; Thackeray translation, 2:519.
31 Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 4.618; Thackeray translation, 3:185.
32 Editor's note: 'Domitian was now eighteen, born 24 October, AD 52.'
33 Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.37–9; Thackeray translation, 3:515–7. See also Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.96; Thackeray translation, 3:535.
34 See Salmon (1969) and Watkins (1983) for general topic of Roman colonies.
35 The translation 'crowning' is based on the reading of CORONATU (see next note). Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais would prefer the reading of COLONATU; personal correspondance, Summer 2003.
36 FORTUNAE GEN(I) COLONIAE M. JULIUS AVIDI/US MINERVINUS DOMO EMESIS CO/RONATU HONORATUS DEC(RETO) DEC(URIONUM) SAECULO C(ONDITAE) C(OLONIAE) DE SUO FECIT. Mouterde in Lauffray (1944–6) 68, inscription 5. The letters were described as typical of the first century AD; the inscription measured 7 cm in height for the first line and 4.5 cm for the 3rd line. Mouterde gives a French translation and notes that the *gens Avidia* was powerful in Syria.

37 The adaptation of Greek and Roman political institutions in Phoenician and Syrian cities has been recently studied by several scholars: Peters (1970), Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987), and Rey-Coquais (1991a) and (1991b).

38 Jones (1940) and (1971).

39 Devijver (1989) 348.

40 This Quirinius has been identified with the Quirinius of Luke 1:1–5. Full documentation of primary sources and secondary literature in Chapter 6, in Dabrowa (1998) 27–30 and Rey-Coquais (1978d) 63, who argued for an earlier date. See Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.13.5; 18.1.1; 18.2.1. See now Boffo (1994) 182–3; I owe this reference to Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais.

41 Translated in Levick (1985) 70. Q.AEMILIO Q.F.PAL. SECVNDVS *in* CASTRIS DIVI AVG *Sub* P. SVLPIcIO QVIRINIO *Legato* CaESARIS SYRIAE HONORIBVS DECORATVS PRaEFECT COHORT AVG I PRaEFECT COHORT II CLASSICAE IDEM IVSSV QVIRINI CENSVM EGI APAMENAE CIVITATIS MILLIVM HOMIN CIVIVM CXVII IDEM MISSV QVIRINI ADVERSVS ITVRAEOS IN LIBANO MONTE CASTELLVM EORVM CEPI ET ANTE MILITIEM PREFECT FABRVM DELATVS A DVOBVS COS AD AERARIVM ET IN COLONIA QVAESTOR AEDIL II DVVMVIR II PONTIFEXS IBI POSITI SVNT Q.AEMILIVS Q.F.PAL SECVNDVS F.ET AEMILIA CHIA LIB H[oc] M[onumentum] AMPLIVS H[eredem] N[on] S [equetur]. *CIL* III.6687=*ILS* 2683; Gabba (1958), 52–61, pl. 3. See Isaac (1992) 318 for additional discussion.

42 Devijver (1989) 348–9.

43 Devijver (1989) 351; see Breeze (1993) for the role of the cavalry on the frontier.

44 Cagnat (1926b); Bowersock (1982) 665; Devijver (1989) 349.

45 *M. Sentio Sex. f(ilio) Fab(ia) Proculo, dec(urioni), II vir(o) col(oniae), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) Syr(iacae) eq(uitatae) et vexillat(ionum) coh(ortis) I Cilic (um) et coh(ortis) VII Breucor(um) trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XVI F(laviae) F (irmae) praef(ecto) alae Gem(inae) col(onorum). quaest(ori) provinc(iae) Asiae trib (uno) pl(ebis) praet(ori) pereg(rino) leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Africae patrono coloniae.* Cagnat (1926b) 67–8. See now Rey-Coquais (1992c) for a new study of this inscription to M.Sentius Proculus.

46 Bowersock (1982), commenting on *Anz. Wien,* 94 (1957) 17, which was not available to me at this writing.

47 *praef. Imp. Caesaris Trani (sic) Hadriani Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriae), II virali potestat(e) f(unctus)*. Devijver (1989) 349. My translation.

48 *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.7 (365? 368? 370? 373? April 13); Pharr translation, p. 184. See also Ammianus Marcellinus 26.6.7.

49 *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.8; Pharr translation, p. 184.

50 *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.9; Pharr translation, p. 184.

51 *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.10; Pharr translation, p. 184.

52 *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.12; Pharr translation, p. 185.

53 Pollard (2000) 162, n. 204; *Cod. Theod.* 7.20.1 (AD 318, 324, 326); 7.20.9. See MacMullen (1963) for the role of soldiers and civilians in the Late Roman period.

54 *Est et Heliopolitana (colonia), quae a divo Severo per belli civilis occasionem Italicae coloniae rem publicam accepit. Digest* 50.15.1.2 cited and discussed by Millar (1990) 33; my translation. This is from the same passage quoted earlier which describes the colonial status of other cities. This portion of the law is titled

De censibus and seems to be focused on the tax-paying status of colonial foundations. As Millar (1990) 7 clearly asserts, Berytus is the 'one unquestionable military *colonia* of the Augustan period,' and the others were created for an honor of some sort, usually a reward for loyalty. See now Millar (1999a) for a study of free cities, colonies, and provincial governors.

55 *BMC* Syria, pp. 290–5; Millar (1990) 33; Jidejian (1975) pls 191–250.

56 See Rey-Coquais (1978b) and (1981) and Ghadban (1981) and (1987) for the frontiers in the Biqaa and for Heliopolis.

57 Strabo 756; Bowersock (1965) 65–6. Epigraphic evidence is discussed in Rey-Coquais, *IGLS* VI, p. 34, n. 9; Rey-Coquais (1978d) 51–5; and Rey-Coquais (1989a) 738. Rey-Coquais (1991c) 148 points out that the description of a city (Heliopolis-Baalbek) as a colony of Augustus does not prove that Augustus founded it.

58 Herodian 3.3.3; Whittaker translation, 1:268–9

59 *Ius Italicum* is discussed in Millar (1990) 12; Watkins (1983); and Sherwin-White (1973) 275–7 and 316–22.

60 *Gaius libro sexto ad legem Iuliam et Papiam: Iuris italici sunt Troas Berytus Dyrrchium*. *Digest* 50.15.7.

61 Paulus libro secundo de censibus: Laodicia in Syria et Berytus in Phoenice iuris Italici sunt et solum earum. Eiusdem iuris et Tyriorum civitas a divis Severo et Antonino facta est. Divus Antoninus Antiochenses colonos fecit salvis tributis. *Digest* 50.15.8.3–6.

62 Sciendum est esse quasdam colonias iuris Italici, ut est in Syria Phoenice splendissima Tyrorum colonia, unde mihi origo est, nobilis regionibus, serie saeculorum antiquisssima, armipotens, foederis quod cum Romanis percussit tenacisssmia: huic enim divus Severus et imperator noster ob egregriam in rem publicam imperiumque Romanum insignem fidem ius Italicum dedit. Sed et Berytensis colonia in eadem provincia [Syria Phoenice], Augusti beneficiis gratiosa, et (ut divus Hadrianus in quadam oratione ait) Augustana colonia, quae ius Italicum habet. *Ulpianus libro primo de censibus*. *Digest* 50.15.1.1. My translation; compare to Levick (1985) 73.

63 Millar (1990) 9 indicates that this bust is on display in the Louvre.

64 *Markos Ioulios Maximos Aristeides kolon Berytios pater Loukilles gynaikos Pertinakos* MRQWS YWLYWS MKSMWS 'RSTYDS QWLWN BRTY' 'B(W)H DY LWQL ' 'TT PRTNKS. Millar (1990) 9 cites these sources for the bilingual Greek-Palmyrene inscription: C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rép. Epig. Sém.* II, no. 1054 =*CIS* II 4401; Greek, *IGRR* III.1035=*OGIS* 588. For the bust see M. Colledge, (1976) 225 and pl. 144. The emperor Pertinax had served a term in Syria both as a military officer and as a governor (175–82 AD) according to *SHA,* 'Pertinax,' 1–3. Perhaps this Pertinax of the inscription took the imperial name as often occurred in this period. The name 'Loukille' is the Hellenized spelling of the Roman name 'Lucilla.'

65 Salway (1994) addresses the naming practices of the Greek East in Late Antiquity.

66 Clark (1979) for Jerome's associations with these families. Arnheim (1972) has multiple references to Jerome's relationships with the senatorial aristocracy at Rome.

67 Millar (1990) 57.

68 ‘saint Jérôme, amené a citer Berytus, ne peut s’empêcher d’écrire: *Berytus, Romana colonia*…?’ Personal correspondence, 10 May 1995 from Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais with the author.

69 The uses of a seemingly very specific Greek term (rather than *itinerarium*) suggests that such a term refers to a commonly understood item. Jerome elsewhere (*Epistula* 108.3.3) speaks of the great number of pilgrims making such a journey to Jerusalem, his destination as well. Hunt (1982) 128–54, gives evidence for tremendous traffic to and from the Holy Land.

70 ‘Omitto Syriae Coeles et Phoenicis iter (neque enim *odoeporicon* eius disposui scribere: ea tantum loca nominabo, quae sacris voluminibus continentur. Beryto, Romana colonia…’ Jerome, *Epistula* 108.8. *Lettres* (LaBourt edn) 5:164–5. The full Latin text and French translation of letter 108 are found under the heading *Oraison funèbre de Sainte Paule: Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae,* pp. 159–202, notes on pp. 212–14. My translation; compare with Wilkinson (2002) 79–81 and Petersen 1996) 131.

71 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 41.389; Rouse translation 3:225.

72 Orations and letters of Libanius; Petit (1955); Liebeschuetz (1972) 174–85; Millar (1983a); Sartre (1987); and Harper (1928).

73 *Cod. Theod.* 5.7.2; 7.7.3; 7.10.1; 8.4.8; 8.5.26; 8.5.51; 8.11.1; 12.12.15; 12.13.3; 13. 3.5; 14.6.3; 16.5.45; 16.5.65; 16.10.12, 13; and *passim*.

74 ‘Cum te Byblium origine, incolam apud Berytios esse proponis, merito apud utrasque civitates muneribus fungi compelleris.’ *Cod. Just.* 10.39.1. *De Municipiis et Originariis. Imp. Antoninus A.Silvano.* My translation. See Millar (1983a) 81 for related rulings and discussion.

75 Fl. Domitianus Leontius 20, (PLRE I), *PPO Orientis,* 340–4, *consul* 344. Full evidence from 1) *CIL* III 167=D 1234 Berytus (Phoenicia); 2) *CIL* III 12330=D 8944 Traiana (Thrace); 3) *CIL* X 478 Paestum (Lucania): 4) unpublished inscription from Delphi, communicated by A. Chastagnol (text not yet available). ? Vicarius 228 AD Oct. 18 *Cod. Theod.* IX 1.7 Domitio Leontio PPO; it is unlikely that he was PPO at the same time as Septimius Acindynus 2 and he may have been *vicarius.* PPO (Orientis) 340–4 AD; PPO under Constans and colleague of Antonius Marcellinus (named first) and Fabius Titianus (named third) inscr. 2 (to be dated 341 AD Feb./June, see under Titianus); colleague of Titianus (named second) and Placidus (named third) inscr. 4 (342/344 AD) 340s AD (MSS dat. v. id. Oct *connssss.,* perhaps *cons(ule) s(upra) s(cripto)*=Leontius in 344) Oct. 11 *CTh* VII 9.2a; 342 AD May 11 *CTh* XI 36.6+; 342 AD July 30 *CTh* I 5.4a; 343 AD June 27 *Cth* XII 1.35a (=*CTh* VII 22.4a wrongly dated 332 April 11); AD 344 July 6 *CTh* XIII 4.3a; 344 AD *P. Abinn.* 59, *P. Princ.* II 81, III 181; mentioned as a former PPO in the East, Lib. *Ep.* 353. Consul prior 344 AD with Fl. Bonosus 4 in West to April, with Fl. Sallustius in West from May and in East all year; *Fasti,* Rossi I 75–80, X 478=D 6114, XI 4030–2, 7788, *AE* 1917, 117, *P. Abinn. 2* (=*P.Gen.* 45), *P. Abinn.* 58 (= *P. Lond.* 233), *P. Abinn.* 59 (=*P. Gen.* 46), *P. Princ.* II 81, III 181.]

76 Isaac (1992) 319–21. See also MacAdam (1983) and Millar (1993) 279–80. For Corinth, see Kent (1966).

77 Editor’s note from *ILS* 1234: Leontius was *Praefectus praetorio* in 338 AD (*Cod. Theod.* 9.4.7) and in 342 to 344 AD (*Cod. Theod.1.5.4;* 7.9.2; 9.21.5; 11.36.6; 12.1. 35; 13.4.3), and *consul ordinarius* in 344 AD. The name Flavius is shown in *C.X.*

478 [sic] and the name Domitius is shown in *Cod. Theod.* 9.1.7. This inscription was also seen by Waddington [no citation given], according to the editor of CIL III. 167.

78 The editor of the *ILS* 1234 text inserts *vc [vir clarissimus],* 'of consular rank,' and *praefecto* before *praeforio.*

79 LEONTI PRAETORIO ADQVE OrdINARIO CONSVLI PROVOCANTIBVS EIVS MERITIS QVAE PER SINGVLOS HONORVM GRADOS AD HOS *e*VM DIGNITATVM APICES PROVEXERVNT DECRETIS PROVINCIAE PHOENICES SENTEN/TIA DIVINA FIRMATIS DD NN CONSTAN[T]I ET CONSTANTIS AETERNORUM PRINCI/PVM ORDO BERYTIORVM STATVAM SVMPTIBVS SVIS *Ex* AERE LOCATVM CIVILI HABITO DEDICAVIT. *CIL* III.167=*ILS* 1234, dated to 344 AD by Isaac (1992) 319, n. 41. See Wallace-Hadrill (1982) for comparable usage of *civilis*. I owe this citation to Peter Brown.

80 Liebeschuetz (1972) 174–86, with citations to Libanius's letters and orations and to other studies by Petit and Pack.

81 Jones (1964) 757–63.

82 Libanius *Or*. 18.146–7; translation in Millar (1983a) 76; compare to Norman translation (1969) 1:372–4.

5
THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF BERYTUS

Urban life in the Classical and Late Antique city

Self-identification is shaped by external environment, especially the built physical matrix of a city. The construction of civic space and the organization of political life reflect shared perceptions about the ideal city and the ideal citizen. In the cities of the Greek East, provision was made for political participation by prominent citizens in a *boule* (council). Honor was obtained by service in political office, especially in the city itself. Religious functions were served by temples either in the city or at adjacent sanctuary sites. *Euergesia,* public benefaction by the wealthy citizens toward the city for the benefit of all citizens, was expected and praised.

In the classical city,[1] citizens anticipated that certain needs would be met in traditional ways: aqueducts and fountains providing water; markets *(agora or fora)* for buying and selling food and clothing; public baths for cleanliness and recreation; temples for veneration of the gods; straight rectilinear paved streets, perhaps with colonnades, for moving about the city; amphitheaters and theaters for the presentation of sports and plays; a well-developed harbor for Mediterranean trade and travel; well-paved roads with milestones for moving on to neighboring cities and towns.[2]

In the classical city the inhabitants would expect that certain prominent families, drawing on their wealth from agricultural estates or from trade, would reside in elegant city houses much of the time and govern the city, providing many benefits to their fellow citizens from the revenues from city lands or from their own wealth.[3] The artisans might live in houses which also included workshops. Slaves would be a part of such households and might be relatively more comfortable than free men. The poor might live near the harbor or market, close to opportunities for work. Although it is possible to speculate about the number of people living in a city and we can recreate the social and economic setting, it is difficult to calculate the population of ancient cities.[4]

In the classical city, a person might identify himself or herself by economic status, attachment to a cult or to a circus faction, loyalty to a patron or guild, association with a language or ethnic group.[5] Although the various groups mixed

freely, a certain amount of deference might be expected by the wealthy curial classes from the poorer classes.[6]

In the Late Antique city it has been argued that the use of urban space changed. It has been pointed out that in some instances the streets filled in with shanties for the poor and that the straight roads were replaced by winding roads.[7] In many cases, water from cisterns supplemented the supply from aqueducts although there is evidence that aqueducts continued to be built.[8] In some cities large public baths continued to be built, as in Antioch after 540 AD. In other cases baths, although still large, were built with smaller individual chambers, as at Gerasa (Jerash).[9] It has also been argued that the nature of amusements changed and that chariot races replaced all other sporting events.[10] Theaters remained open but under attack for the nature of the presentations.[11] It has been suggested as temples were closed that the churches took over the presentation of not only religious services within the buildings but public processions filling the streets.[12] I would suggest that the churches also began to be the site for 'civic' activities as well.

Whittow has noted that in the sixth century Roman Christians wished 'to display their wealth and status by building monasteries, hospitals, old people's homes, orphanages, and above all else, churches.'[13] Displays of wealth seem to have moved from private homes, temples, and civic buildings to the ornamentation of the churches. In the Late Antique city citizens might identify themselves by their economic status, and the wealthy might derive status from acts of benefaction.[14] However, there was the possibility of improved status from other avenues; it was quite possible to rise through the hierarchy of church organization or bureaucratic gradations.[15] Even the 'poor' might gain esteem in their own eyes and in the eyes of their fellow citizens by excelling in godliness.[16] In fact, deliberate impoverishment by the donation of property was considered a means of acquiring merit.

Self-identification might be linked to alignment with a particular segment of Christians or pagans. Such association with any religious group might be influenced not only by questions of belief, but also by the demonstration of belief through practices such as asceticism or some other specifically religious behavior. Again, factors of ethnicity and language would affect the self-identification of individuals and might have been reflected in choice of residence, clothing, and food.

In this section, the question under investigation concerns the evidence from Berytus for this proposed model of difference between the classical city and the Late Antique city. As the centuries passed and the priorities of the citizens changed, how did the city evolve? When structures are not mentioned in Late Antique accounts, does it mean they no longer survived or that they had been re-used? When certain kinds of activities are described as routine, does it mean necessarily that other kinds of activities have ceased? As new kinds of buildings were built and new kinds of activities took place in them, the self-definition of the participants must surely have evolved in new directions as well.

The evidence for the physical layout of the classical city of Berytus and for its civic administration will be presented first, followed by the evidence for the changes in both physical buildings and administrative practices that characterized the Late Antique city.[17] Throughout the discussion attention will be focused on the self-identification of the citizens of Berytus with contemporary ideals of participation in urban life.

Helienistic *polis* and Roman *colonia:* the physical structures

Berytus was endowed with many of her 'classical' buildings by the Herodian dynasty[18] which thus shaped the urban environment and the activities occurring in the city. In the course of two centuries Herod the Great (*c.* 73–4 BC) and his family embellished many Hellenized cities along the Syro-Phoenician coast.[19] Josephus attests to the variety of structures donated to Berytus and neighboring cities:

> After founding all these places, he proceeded to display his generosity to numerous cities outside his realm. Thus, he provided gymnasia for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, a wall for Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples, and market-places *[agora]* for Berytus and Tyre, theatres for Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct for Laodicea on sea, baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades, admirable alike for their architecture and their proportions, for Ascalon. And that broad street in Syrian Antioch, once shunned on account of the mud—was it not he who paved its twenty furlongs with polished marble, and, as a protection from the rain, adorned it with a colonnade of equal length?[20]

Herod's grandson Agrippa I (10 BC–44 AD) further adorned the city. To Berytus he gave not only baths, porticoes, and a theater, but also an amphitheater which had a bloody inauguration with a gladiatorial show involving 1400 condemned men:

> He erected many buildings in many other places but he conferred special favours on the people of Berytus. He built them a theatre surpassing many others in its costly beauty; he also built an amphitheatre at great expense, besides baths and porticoes; and in none of these works did he allow either the beauty or the size to suffer by stinting on the expenses. He was also magnificently lavish in his provision at the dedication of them; in the theatre he exhib ited spectacles, introducing every kind of music and all that made for a varied entertainment, while in the amphitheatre he showed his noble generosity by the number of gladiators provided. On the latter occasion also, wishing to gratify the spectators by ranging a number of combatants against each other, he sent in seven hundred men to fight another

> seven hundred. All these men were malefactors set aside for this purpose, so that while they were receiving their punishment, the feats of war might be a source of entertainment in peace-time. In this way he brought about the utter annihilation of these men.[21]

The passage makes clear that Berytus had both a theater for musical performances and an amphitheater large enough to accommodate gladiatorial games on a large scale. The provision of such structures suggests that there were audiences in Berytus for both sorts of entertainment. Other evidence suggests that Berytus, like many other veteran colonies, was inhabited by settlers with a taste for militaristic performances.[22]

Marcus Julius Agrippa II ('Herod Agrippa II'),[23] ruler from 53–93 AD, also continued the family tradition of special favor toward Berytus, a 'foreign city,' in the phrasing of Josephus. Since Josephus links the improvements at Berytus with those made at Caesarea, renamed Neronias in honor of Nero, it may be supposed that both projects were completed prior to 69 AD.

> He [Agrippa II] furthermore built at great expense a theatre for the people of Berytus and presented them with annual spectacles, spending many tens of thousands of drachmas upon this project. Moreover, he used to give the people grain and distribute olive oil. He also adorned the whole city by erecting statues, as well as replicas of ancient sculptures. He thus transferred to that place [Berytus] well-nigh all the ornaments of the kingdom. The hatred of his subjects for him consequently increased because he stripped them of their possessions to adorn a foreign city. [24]

At least one visit to Bertyus by Berenice and Agrippa II to meet with the Roman governor Cestius is recorded in Josephus; Agrippa II returned at least two other times.[25] An inscription uncovered in the ruins of a large edifice in Beirut in the early part of this century honors a benefaction of Agrippa II and his sister Berenice to the city:

> Queen Berenice, daughter of the Great King Agrippa (1), and King Agrippa (2), have raised up the edifice built formerly by their ancestor[26] King Herod (the Great) which has fallen to ruin through the ages. It is decorated by them with marble and six columns.[27]

The very wording of the inscription in Latin emphasizes the Roman allegiance of the Herodian dynasty. These Jewish 'friends of Rome' erected Greco-Roman buildings in the coastal cities of Syria-Phoenicia.[28] The attraction of Roman identity, as expressed in the shaping of urban space, had been put into place by a Semitic family which aspired to power by association with the emperors of Rome from Augustus to Titus.[29]

According to the literary evidence, by the beginning of the second century AD Berytus contained the following public structures: halls, porticoes, temples, marketplaces, a theater, an amphitheater, and baths. Statues and sculptures adorned the buildings and thoroughfares.

Although Lauffray speculated that the city was laid out on a rectilinear plan, based on the intersection of *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus,*[30] recent excavations have revealed a less rigid underlying grid.[31] In fact, it has been suggested that the Hellenistic city was expanded by Roman colonization but not obliterated. There is addditionally increased evidence of colonnaded streets and shops.[32]

The city coinage of Berytus regularly represents a temple dedicated to Aphrodite with four columns and a pediment with a round shield; the statue of the goddess is shown within.[33] The city coinage during the same periods seems to suggest a temple for Poseidon as well. On a coin of Macrinus there is a temple represented with six columns[34] and pediment; inside the temple Poseidon is shown holding a dolphin in his right hand and resting with his left hand on a trident.[35]

Athletic competitions on a classical model continued in Berytus in the second century AD in some public facility such as a *gymnasium*.[36] An athlete at Aphrodisias in Caria in 165 AD enumerates the competitions held in the following cities as part of his catalogue of victories:

> at Damascus, the men's *pancration* twice, at Berytus the men's *pancration,* at Tyre the men's *pancration,* at Caesarea Stratonos the men's *pancration,* at Neapolis of Samaria the men's *pancration,* at Scythopolis the men's *pancration,* at Gaza the men's *pancration,* at Caesarea Panias the men's *pancration* twice, at Hieropolis the men's *pancration*.[37]

The city of Berytus received, perhaps from imperial donation,[38] the typical structures deemed appropriate for urban life. The aqueduct may date from the reign of Nero and the improvements made by his envoy in 56 AD. The aqueduct crossed the Magoras River (Nahr Beirut) just to the north of the city by a bridge which measured 240 meters in length and was composed of three ranges of arches. The ruins which survive are impressive and have been compared to those of the Pont du Gard.[39] The water was dispersed within the city by a series of canalizations. A canal cut from rock which then allowed water to flow into rock-cut basins has been found in the city. A system of sewer pipes which removed wastes from the city has also been discovered.[40]

Vespasian may have endowed the city of Berytus with a shopping arcade similar to those found in Rome. An inscription is preserved in part which refers to Vespasian, shops, and Liber Pater.[41] Lauffray argues that this is part of an inscription to honor Liber Pater, the ancient defender of free municipalities and preserver of Bacchus. He suggests that it was installed to honor the prosperity of Vespasian or of Titus who visited Berytus.[42] The mention of shops is important

as there is much evidence to show that the artisans and merchants constituted an important element in the population of the city. This particular inscription was found between the port and the eastern extremity of the actual rue Weygand at the emplacement of the Bab es-Saraya.

Furthermore, Lauffray also notes that on the coins of Elagabalus, there was the representation of a figure of Marsyas, with the right arm lifted and the the head covered in a Phrygian bonnet. The statue, placed on a pedestal, was framed by two columns which joined an emtablature supporting an arch and may have been part of a tetrapyle in the area of a forum. [43]

During the reign of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna took a special interest in the cities of Syria and Phoenicia because of family ties to the area.[44] Her association with Berytus is attested by an inscription raised in her honor by the *decuriones*. The building in which it was found was opposite the large basilica in Berytus.[45]

> To Julia Domna Augusta, 'Mother of the Camp,' the colony Julia Felix Berytus at public expense [dedicates this ?] by the order of the decurions.[46]

Two additional inscriptions to Julia Domna have been found in the recent excavations in Beirut and demonstrate further her importance to the life of the city in the third century AD.[47]

Caracalla may have continued the pattern of construction, more than might be expected from the dismissive notices of him in the historians like Zosimus.[48] For example, the road improvements to the north of the city, which might be linked to his interest in supporting the army, are credited to Caracalla in an inscription which has been inscribed on the face of the cliff. This pass was cut through the rock at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb by the Legio III Gallica in 211–17 AD.

> Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Parthicus Maximus, Britannicus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus Pontifex Maximus cut through the mountains overhanging the Lycus River, and widened the road by the work of *the third Gallic legion,* [which he has designated] his own Antonine legion.[49]

Elagabalus is known to have lavished imperial favor upon Berytus as well as upon other cities of the area.[50] A city coin from the time of Elagabalus shows a large archway decorated with columns and sculptures.[51] Subsequently, the archway was described by Nasir-i-Khusrau who passed through Beirut in 1047.

> From Byblos we went to Beirut, where I saw a stone arch situated so that the road ran right through it. I estimated the arch to be fifty ells high, and on all sides were slabs of white stone, each of which weighed over a thousand maunds. This edifice was made of bricks up to a height of twenty ells, and on top were set up marble cylinders, each eight ells tall and so

> thick that two men could scarcely reach around. On top of these columns were more arches on both sides, of such exactly fitted masonry that there was neither plaster nor mud in between. Above this was a great arch right in the middle, fifty cubits high. I estimated that each stone in that arch was eight cubits long and four wide, so that each one must have weighed approximately seven thousand maunds. All of these stones had designs carved in relief—better in fact than one usually sees executed in wood. Except for this arch, no other edifice remains in that area… The whole plain thereabouts abounds with marble columns, capitals, and bases, all of carved marble—round, square, hexagonal, and octagonal—and of a kind of stone so hard that iron makes no impression on it. Yet there is no mountainous terrain nearby from which the stone might have been quarried, and all other stone there is soft enough to be hewn with iron. In the outlying regions of Syria there are more than five hundred thousand of these fallen columns, capitals, and bases, and no one knows what they were or from where they were brought.[52]

This arch may have been a tetrapylon similar to that still standing in Tyre which has survived earthquakes, invasions, and various anti-pagan and iconoclast movements.

The physical structures of Late Antique Berytus

By mid-sixth century AD Berytus was a city adorned with 'world-famous architectural treasures.'[53] A hippodrome,[54] a theater,[55] baths,[56] the aqueduct, *auditoria* for the instruction of law students, a civic basilica, several churches, markets, and buildings related to the port are attested by literary or archeological evidence.[57] The houses of artisans, possibly incorporating workshops, shared urban space with elegant townhouses of the wealthy.[58]

Artisan shops have been discovered in Beirut in the course of recent excavations.[59] These shops, decorated with mosaic floors and numbered with Greek letters, hint at well-developed facilities for the production and purveying of artisan goods. The further publication and analysis of these finds should clarify both date and function.[60] Also, the study of large amphora dumps in the area may improve our understanding of the relative prosperity in the Roman and Late Roman period.[61]

The well-traveled author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* reported that the lecture halls connected with legal instruction existed in Berytus:

> Berytus, an utterly charming city, having lecture halls of law upon which [city] all the courts of the Romans appear to depend. For, from there [the city of Berytus], legal scholars preside at the courts throughout all the civilized world and take care of the provinces, to which are sent legal regulations.[62]

Whether these *auditoria* were separate structures or were housed in larger buildings such as churches or the basilica is not made clear. The rulings in the *Theodosian Code* concerning *auditoria*[63] may not necessarily apply to those in Berytus. Their size and appearance may have reflected the success of the teachers.[64]

The clearest testimony concerns the churches, both as to their appearance and their use.[65] From the 'Life of Severus,' we hear of four or five churches known as the Anastasia,[66] the Theotokos,[67] and the Church of Saint Judas,[68] the *martyrion* of Saint Stephen, [69] and/or a second *martyrion*.[70] In the following narrative by Zacharias, the Anastasia and the church of the Theotokos appear to have been within walking distance of one another and also the law school classrooms known as *auditoria*.

> When the much-praised Severus was ready to go from Alexandria to Phoenicia, to gain instruction in laws and with the intention to study the art of lawyers, he was urging me to go with him… He went before me for one year only, and when it was completed, I went to Beirut, too, that I might read the laws of the *politeia*… When on the first day [of instruction] I entered the school of Leontios son of Eudoxios, the one who was then teaching laws and was famous to all those concerning themselves with the law, I found the illustrious Severus with others who were sitting around him listening to legal instruction… Then it happened that we who [were] at that time *dypondii,*[71] when we had completed the *praxeis,* would depart [the classroom], and those of his year stayed for their argument. I then went straight to the holy church which is called Anastasia, to pray. And after that I went to the Theotokos church, which is in the city center beside the port.[72]

There may have been other churches built nearer to the outskirts of the city than the ones which seem to have been near the city center. As Lassus has pointed out, this was the usual pattern: Late Antique churches tended to be built near the outskirts because that was the area open for building.[73] Additionally, the churches were commonly built near or over cemeteries for Christians. Space was needed not only for the main basilica, but also for ancillary buildings which served the community.[74] In a passage describing the activities of treasure hunters in the 'Life of Severus,' Zacharias refers to the 'tombs situated inside the church' of the Second Martyrion. He also mentions the 'silver objects' and the 'silver censer' which were used in the church.[75]

There is no literary evidence for the survival of the temples to Aphrodite and Poseidon which were attested on the coins of Roman Berytus. Perhaps they were razed to supply building materials for the repair of roads, bridges, walls, and aqueducts.[77] Perhaps they were converted to other buildings of a public nature, as the conversion of a temple of Aphrodite in Constantinople to a stable and a

dwelling for penniless prostitutes.[78] Perhaps they were converted to *martyria* in order for the special holiness of the martyrs to sanctify the re-used building.[79]

Some of the Roman-era buildings appear to have survived into the Late Antique period. The references to the bath(s), the hippodrome,[80] and the agora in the 'Life of Severus' suggest the continued use of the structures. Libanius had complained in the previous century of the distractions for his students at the performances in the hippodrome, arena, and theater.[81] A lead curse tablet, dated to Late Antique Berytus, condemning various horses of the Blue *factio* to the demon substantiates that horse races were still being held in the hippodrome during this period.[82]

From the fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* there is a description of the type of entertainers for which various cities of Phoenicia were noted. Mythological stories provided popular plots for the vignettes reenacted in the theater by the *mimarii,* 'mimes,' for which Berytus and Tyre were famous in Late Antiquity.

> You consider Antioch well-endowed with all things delightful, especially with circuses… Behold, likewise Laodicia, Tyre, Berytus and Caesarea [have] circuses; but Laodicia sends to other cities the best [chariot] drivers, Tyre and Berytus [send] mime actors, Caesarea [sends] pantomimes, Heliopolis [sends] flute-players, especially because the Muses from Mt. Libanus inspire in them the divine quality of reciting.[83] Sometimes, moreover also Gaza is said to have good listeners (audiences); moreover, it is said that she has also competitors in all events, Ascalon [has] contender-athletes, [and] Castabala [has] acrobats.[84]

The entertainment provided by the dancers and mimes must have been very popular and possibly led to popular demonstrations. When Libanius described the unruly members of the Antioch claque who helped precipitate the 'Riot of the Statues' in Antioch, he mentioned a similar disturbance in Berytus:

> Who were these fellows, then? Why, those who think more of the dancers of pantomime than of sun and moon and darkness itself! One of their sort had already been responsible for the sad occurrences in Berytus, as we afterwards discovered.[85]

While clerics complained that the plays performed in the theaters were a corrupting influence,[86] audience demand assured the continuation of the performances. For example, a law of 409 (*Cod. Just.* 11.41.5)[87] forbade the transfer of actors, charioteers, and wild animals from their native cities in order to maintain the popularity of local festivals. In fact, the imperial concern with the proper control of entertainments (*Cod. Theod.* 15.5.1–5, *De Spectaculis,* 'Spectacles')[88] and of entertainers (*Cod. Theod.*15.7.1–13, *De Scaenicis,* 'Men

and Women of the Stage')[89] indicates the continuing popularity of such amusements well into the early fifth century.

In the 'Life of Severus' Zacharias had advised Severus to avoid 'the shameful public spectacles, the horse races, the theatre, and the areas where one watches wild beasts in combat with poor and unfortunate men.'[90] In the same account of life in Late Antique Berytus, there is a reference to a 'spectacle' which erupted into a 'riot.' Evagrius, one of the law students, was injured in the uproar and thereafter became quite devout. His time was spent in nightly vigils in the churches rather than in popular entertainments at the theater or the hippodrome.[91] Additional references in the 'Life of Severus' to drinking, dice-playing, and consorting with prostitutes indicate that facilities for these activities survived in fifth century Berytus.[92]

The physical layout of the city both shaped and reflected the interests of the people of Berytus. The artisans and merchants sold their goods, perhaps from their shops or near their houses.[93] Workshops of a public or private nature provided quarters for the production of textiles and other handcrafts, such as metal and glass.[94] Travelers must have stayed in public inns, government accommodations, or hospices attached to the churches.[95] Those persons seeking recreation could frequent the races, the theaters, the baths, and even houses of prostitution.[96] Lecture halls for law students were in reasonable proximity to the churches, at least in some instances. The greatest change was in the religious structures. Temples seem to have been replaced by churches, some built on a magnificent scale.[97] Statues of ancient gods probably were replaced by those of imperial figures.[98] Buildings of all sorts were decorated with mosaics and paintings.[99] Carved columns, classically inspired, ornamented not only churches but even public buildings.[100] The overall effect must have fostered a sense of prosperity and general well-being.[101]

Evidence of the earthquake narratives

Every description of Late Antique Berytus suggests a beautiful, wellendowed city. 'World-famous architectural treasures' are referred to by Agathias in his description of the devastation of Berytus by the earthquake of 551 AD.[102] Agathias was about twenty years old at the time of the earthquake and seems to have had first-hand information about the city and the disaster. His account seems to suggest that Berytus did not regain its previous affluence or influence.

> In summer time, roughly during the same period, there was a violent earthquake in Constantinople and in many parts of the Empire, with the result that several cities both on the islands and the mainland were razed to the ground and their inhabitants wiped out. The lovely city of Berytus, the jewel of Phoenicia, was completely ruined and its world-famous architectural treasures were reduced to a heap of rubble, practically nothing but the bare pavements of the buildings being left. Many of the local

> inhabitants were crushed to death under the weight of the wreckage, as were many cultivated young men of distinguished parentage who had come there to study the Law. There as, in fact, a long tradition of legal studies in the city, and the law schools conferred an aura of peculiar privilege and distinction on the place. At this point, then, the professors of law moved to the neighboring city of Sidon and the schools were transferred there, until Berytus was rebuilt. The restored city was very different from what it had been in the past, though it was not changed beyond recognition, since it still preserved a few traces of its former self. But this rebuilding of the city and the subsequent return of the schools was not to take place for some time yet.[103]

Agathias suggests that the city was rebuilt after some delay. His clear statement that 'the restored city was very different from what it had been' would indicate that the authorities did not rebuild the city on its former scale or in precise replication of previously existing structures. But, because the city 'was not changed beyond recognition,' one may assume that some major landmarks remained, such as the port and the aqueduct, parts of which still stand today. Clearly whatever buildings housed the law schools were considered unusable. This reference might indicate damage to other civic or religious buildings, but it is difficult to know.

The magnitude of the disaster which overwhelmed Berytus and the relief sent by the emperor are consistent themes in all the other accounts given of the earthquake.[104] John Malalas (490–570s AD) whose name is Syriac for '*scholastikos,* lawyer' wrote thus in his *Chronographia* for the year 551 AD:

> In the 14th indiction a severe and tremendous earthquake occurred throughout the land of Palestine, in Arabia and in the land of Mesopotamia, Antiochia, Phoenice Maritima and Phoenice Libanensis. In this terror the following cities suffered: Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and parts of other cities. Large numbers of people were trapped in them. In the city of Botrys part of the mountain called Lithoprosopon, which is close to the sea, was broken off and fell into the sea. It made a harbour, so that very large ships were able to anchor in the harbour formed by the ruptured mountain. This city had not had a harbour in the past. The emperor sent money to all the provinces and restored parts of these cities. At the time of the earthquake the sea retreated out to the deep for a mile and many ships were destroyed. At God's command the sea was restored again to its original bed.[105]

Malalas has the earliest account.[106] John of Ephesus (*c.* 507–586/588) perhaps drew on Malalas, or his sources, for his version of the catastrophe.[107] The effects of the tidal wave associated with the earthquake were of particular interest to many of the chroniclers.

The sea also along the whole Phoenician coast retreated and went back nearly two miles. But we have decided to report for posterity a terrible disaster and a great and remarkable portent which happened in the city of Beirut in Phoenicia during the earthquake which destroyed the cities. For in the terrible confusion, when the sea at God's will had retreated and withdrawn from Beirut and the other coastal cities of Phoenicia for a distance of nearly two miles, the dreadful depths of the sea became visible. Suddenly, wonderful, varied and amazing sights could be seen—sunken ships full of different cargoes, and other things too when the waters had retreated from the land. Some ships which were moored in the harbours settled on the sea-bottom since at God's command they had been left high and dry as the water flowed away. Therefore men, moved by that disaster and led to grief and penitence by the brutal spectacle of wrath, would have felt contempt not only for the impious world but also for their own lives, had their hearts not been hardened like Pharaoh's—not by God as was written about him but by the devil. For the inhabitants of the cities and towns on the coast immediately rushed into the sea on a bold and determined impulse, to steal with wicked avarice the huge overturned treasures which were at the bottom of the sea—an impulse which cost them their lives. Therefore when many thousands of people, rushing into the depths of the sea on a deadly impulse, had begun to take the treasures and remove them quickly and others, seeing them laden with deadly wealth, had rushed up with great enthusiasm so as not to be deprived of the hidden treasures which had suddenly been revealed by the earthquake, when some of them had rushed down to the bottom others were hastening above, others were trying their utmost in the middle, and all were rushing around in confusion, then a tremendous surge of the sea, rushing up unobserved to return to its original depth, overwhelmed and consumed in the depths of its eddying waters all those wretched people who had rushed to find wealth from the bottom of the sea and, like Pharaoh, they went down to the depths and were drowned, as it is written, like stones, and God rolled the waters of the sea over them, as the flood burst forth and flowed back to its former abundance. Those who had lingered on the edge of the shore in these places, and were now hurrying to go down, those who were closest to the land, fled to the shore when they saw the deep sea rushing back to its former position. But after they had escaped, as if from hunters, a violent earthquake took place which overturned houses in the cities, especially Beirut. The houses as they fell crushed those who had escaped from the sea, and so nobody survived. For with the sea rising up against them from behind and the earthquake bringing down the city in front of them because of their evil greed, they were caught between two disasters. This happened to them in accordance with the priestly saying, 'though saved from the sea Justice would not let them live.' Therefore those who had sought wealth were delivered up to total destruction and lost their lives, and their bodies

> were found floating on the waves like rubbish. Then in the rubble of the destroyed city, at God's command, fire broke out and for almost two months the flames burned and flared up among the ruins, till even the stones were burnt and turned to lime. Then the Lord sent down rain from heaven for three days and nights, and so the fire burning in the city of Beirut was put out. Any who had been saved from the sea's return and the collapse of the city, lay in the city wounded and injured and consumed by thirst, since the city's aqueduct had been destroyed. When this report was received the emperor Justinian sent gold through several noblemen, who removed and carried out innumerable human bodies and restored the city to some extent.[108]

In the account given above, there is the implication that the emperor acted promptly to relieve the suffering of the city. The removal of the bodies and the restoration of the city were assisted not only by imperial funds but by persons of importance. The term 'noblemen' might refer to hereditary aristocracy or may mean persons who have attained prominence through their position as government bureaucrats.

Berytus was apparently still a thriving center of trade as suggested by the reference to the 'wonderful things, great things, amazing sights; and sunken ships filled with various and different merchandise—ships which had been tied up in the harbor.' The fire is an additional factor of destruction. Perhaps most important is the reference to the aqueduct which was apparently in use up through the sixth century. It has been recently suggested that the use of aqueducts and public baths declined in the sixth century.[109] The reference to counselors sent by the emperor is a new detail but not an unexpected way for the emperor to supervise a relief mission. Again, the rebuilding of the city by imperial financial support is repeated.

Apparently the death toll was memorable; when Antoninus of Piacenza (Placentia) visited the area in 570 AD on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he passed through Tripoli, Byblos, and Berytus. He described his itinerary thus:

> We came into the region of Syria on the island Antharadus and thence we came into Tripolis of Syria, in which [city] Saint Leontius rests; this city in the time of the emperor Justinian was overthrown by the earthquake along with other cities. We came from thence to Byblus which also was overthrown, along with its people, likewise (we came) into the city Triaris (?), which similarly was overthrown. Next we came to the most splendid city Berytus, in which there was recently the study of letters. This city (was) overthrown [by the earthquake] because {when} the bishop of the city [was] speaking to us, [he said] that thirty thousand known persons, who were identified by name, with the exception of the foreigners sent here, perished in a short time.

> From Berytus we came to Sidon, which is low-lying on [one] side and clings to the Lebanon (mountain) [on the other?]; the people in it are the worst.[110] From there runs the river Asclipius and it stops at the fountain whence it rises[111]… From Sidon we came to Sarepta, a city of moderate size which is strongly Christian, in which there is that upper room which had been made for Elias, and there is that bed where he reclined, and a marble doughboard where that widow made bread [let the yeast rise]. In this place many offerings are made; many miracles happen. Departing from Sarepta we came into the city at Tyre. Between Sidon and Tyre and Sarepta [there are] seven mile intervals. At Tyre [there are] powerful people, the worst life, [one] of such great luxury that it can not be described: there are public silk weaving-factories or [places] with various types of looms.[112] And from there we came to Ptolemais. The city [is] honorable; the monasteries [are] good.[113]

'Continuity and change' have been searched for in the transition between the classical city and the Late Antique city, especially in the Greek East.[114] Kennedy, upon further reflection, has noted that cities change more slowly from the 'classical' or 'Roman' layout the further inland they lie. Of course, Berytus, as a coastal city, would be subject to the cultural interactions that fostered rapid change such as ease of travel from the capital and elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

Here in Berytus, the abrupt destruction of the physical structures did not apparently alter the social organization of the city. From Antoninus's account we may observe that the city may have been restored in some measure to its previous beauty because he describes it as *splendissima,* a term which suggests both wealth and beautiful ornamentation. It is noteworthy that little in his itinerary has changed in the 200 years since Egeria, Melania, Jerome, and Paula made similar journeys. The evidence of a journey made by a person with seemingly moderate means suggests that stability was maintained in the region by the imperial government despite such catastrophes as an earthquake. Such a narrative suggests that the will and the means to recover were sufficient for the restoration of normalcy.

Some archeological evidence has been interpreted to suggest rebuilding on a scale not quite the match of the previous construction (compare Agathias above). Lauffray has found columns of mismatched colors in a building he considers either a church or a basilica. He thinks these columns may represent replacement work after the earthquake. It is notable that Zacharias in his description of the church of Eustathius insists very strongly that the original columns were of purest white and were carefully matched.[115] When summing up the archeological evidence for Berytus, Lauffray thought that some restorations were made to the civic basilica in the sixth century AD. Lauffray also suggested that after the earthquake some of the baths and certain parts of the porticos of the streets were

restored. Lauffray notes the difficulty of securely identifying the churches and some other buildings.

Although every earthquake account refers to the rebuilding of Berytus by the emperor Justinian, the details are missing. From Procopius comes an account of the imperial rebuilding of Antioch in 540 AD by Justinian. If Berytus were rebuilt on this scale eleven years later, the city truly could have been called *splendissima*.

> This, then, was what the Emperor Justinian accomplished concerning the circuit-wall of Antioch. He also rebuilt the whole city, which had been completely burned by the enemy. For since everything was everywhere reduced to ashes and levelled to the ground, and since many mounds of ruins were all that was left standing of the burned city, it became impossible for the people of Antioch to recognize the site of each person's house, when first they carried out all the debris, and to clear out the remains of a burned house; and since there were no longer public stoas or colonnaded courts in existence anywhere, nor any market-place remaining, and since the side-streets no longer marked off the thoroughfares of the city, they did not any longer dare to rebuild any house. But the Emperor without any delay transported the debris as far as possible from the city, and thus freed the air and the ground of all encumbrances; then he first of all covered the cleared land of the city everywhere with stones each large enough to load a wagon. Next he laid it out with stoas and market-places, and dividing all the blocks of houses by means of streets, and making water-channels and fountains and sewers, all those of which the city now boasts, he built theaters and baths for it, ornamenting it with all the other public buildings by means of which the prosperity of a city is wont to be shewn. He also, by bringing in a multitude of artisans and craftsmen, made it more easy and less laborious for the inhabitants to build their own houses. Thus it was brought about that Antioch has become more splendid now than it formerly was. Moreover, he built there a great Church to the Mother of God. The beauty of this, and its magnificence in every respect, it is impossible to describe; he also honoured it with an income of a very large sum. Moreover, he built an immense Church for the Archangel Michael. He made provision likewise for the poor of the place who were suffering from maladies, providing buildings for them and all the means for the care and cure of their ailments, for men and women separately, and he made no less provision for strangers who might on occasion be staying in the city.[116]

It is possible that some degree of collapse was tolerated at Berytus for a while as Agathias suggested. As Whittow has pointed out, the citizens of the sixth-century cities seem to have been tolerant of ruins in their midst. Since Justinian had already summoned the most important jurisconsults to Constantinople two

decades earlier and since there was already a law school in Constantinople, there might have been little motivation for the emperor to rebuild to its previous scale a city that could be considered a rival. The silk industry may have been effectively relocated to the capital as well, although the testimony of Antoninus Placentinus seems to suggest that it had not been entirely moved from the Phoenician cities. Whether there was some *animus* against Berytus in these decisions or simply the economic reality that it would be less expensive for the empire if services were centralized in the capital may be unascertainable.

The social organization of Berytus appears to have been dominated simply by the bishop and the emperor, although neither could act without hordes of assistants.[117] The reference to thirty thousand persons 'known by name' to the bishop suggests some method of record-keeping-either a registry of citizens for taxation or a list of Christians for charity or baptism. The reference to 'foreigners sent to Berytus' may refer to the law students, public officials and soldiers, pilgrims, merchants and other visitors for lengthy or short stays. Conspicuously absent from this brief comment on Berytus of the third quarter of the sixth century are any members of the land-owning classes or other well-to-do local citizens (unless these are among the *cognitae personae*). Such an absence could be accounted for by the fact that Antoninus was a religious pilgrim who probably stayed in facilities (see reference to a *monasteria* in his itinerary) arranged for by the bishop.

Yet clearly the pilgrim traffic continued unabated along the Syrian coast. Antoninus had traveled by boat to Syria and then continued by land route to the Holy Land. It should be observed that his native language seems to have been Latin of such a non-classical type that one doubts that he knew Greek. Antoninus of Italy conversed in some way with the bishop of Berytus. Surely they spoke *latine* rather than *grece* or *syriste*.[118] Antoninus does not mention a translator; he implies that the bishop spoke to them as a group. It should be noted that Berytus was the only city in which Antoninus mentions speaking to a church official.[119]

The self-identification of the inhabitants of Berytus as 'Romans,' with an important role to play in the empire, may have motivated them to rebuild the city on its previous scale. Much would have depended on the amount of aid the emperor was able to provide. Although Kennedy in a recent article has suggested that interior Syrian cities like Damascus or Aleppo maintained their classical structures and street-grids longer than the cities on the earthquake-prone coast, there may have been individual variation from coastal city to coastal city. Kennedy thinks that the interior cities retained classical city plans even into the Islamic period while in general the coastal cities seemed to adapt an Islamicized urban layout with more irregular street layouts and a 'souk' model for the mercantile areas.[120]

Because Agathias described the rebuilt city as Very different' and Antoninus Placentinus characterized Berytus as *splendissima,* the question arises about the appearance of the rebuilt city. If the emperor Justinian rebuilt Berytus on the same scale as he had Antioch only eleven years earlier, Berytus would have been 'very

splendid' but not necessarily the same as before the earthquake. Logically, one would suppose the major priorities would be to restore important structures such as the aqueduct, which stands in part even today, and key parts of the market and port. Perhaps the next priority would be to replace at least one church which could accommodate civic and instructional functions as well. Housing would also seem to be an important concern to alleviate the suffering of the remaining citizens.

We simply lack the evidence to be sure how the rebuilt city looked. It does seem clear, however, that an effort was made to rebuild and that the effort was relatively successful.

Notes

1 For the purposes of this discussion, I am using the term 'classical city' to mean a city of the first century BC through the third century AD as contrasted with the term 'Late Antique city' to refer to the city from the fourth through the sixth centuries AD. See Wycherley (1976) for the Greek city and Stambaugh (1988) for the Roman city. See now Rich (1992) for the Late Antique city and Tomlinson (1992) for a comparative study of classical cities.
2 H.Kennedy (1985a) 4–5 clearly outlines the classical ideal of a well-endowed city; see also Bouras (1981); A.H.M.Jones (1937), (1940), and (1971); Rostovtzeff (1941) and (1957); Will (1989b); Frézouls (1987); and Sartre (2001).
3 See Chapter 3 on the economy and L.J.Hall (2001).
4 See Cumont (1934); Patlagean (1968), (1977), and (1981); Sirks (1991); Broshi (1993).
5 See Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996) for voluntary associations.
6 See MacMullen (1974) and Wallace-Hadrill (1994) for interaction of the classes with the urban setting.
7 H.Kennedy (1985a) 4–5. Note Whittow's observation (1990) 19 that such changes might not have troubled the citizens of Late Antique cities.
8 H.Kennedy (1985a) 5, noting building of aqueduct by Justinian at Antioch after 540 AD; Procopius, *Buildings* 2.10.19–22. Note also that Justinian built cisterns in the towers of the rebuilt wall of Antioch to improve the supply of water for defending soldiers. Procopius, *Buildings* 2.10.14.
9 H.Kennedy (1985a) 8–11 with citations to ancient sources and archeological reports.
10 H.Kennedy (1985a) 7–11; see also A.Cameron (1976) and Humphrey (1986) for full discussion of the races and related activities in the circuses and hippodrome.
11 See H.Kennedy (1985a) 7 for summary of evidence and citations. Compare the reaction against the theater at Edessa by Jacob of Serug in 502 AD as discussed in Moss (1935) with the continued use of the theater at Emesa, according to The Life of Symeon the Fool' by Leontios of Neapolis.
12 Fowden (1978); J.F.Matthews (1993); Holum (1982); R.P.C.Hanson (1978).
13 Whittow (1990) 18 and note 34 with references; see also Constantelos (1991).
14 E.Clark (1986).
15 MacMullen (1964a).

16 Herrin (1994).

17 Whittow (1990) 19 acutely observes that the change from the symmetry and monumentality of the classical city to the irregularity of the Late Antique city is a neutral change historically, if not aesthetically.

18 See Schürer, Vermes, and Millar (1973), Sullivan (1978), Braund (1984), Richardson (1996), and Kokkinos (1998) for detailed studies of Herod and his dynasty.

19 Roller (1998).

20 Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 1.422, Thackeray translation 2:199–201. See Lauffray (1978) 148 and Millar (1990) 13 for discussion.

21 Josephus, *Antiquities* 19.335–8, Feldman translation 9:373.

22 One may note that such amphitheaters were regularly installed in other veteran colonies, like Pompeii; Salmon (1969) and Stambaugh (1988). See A. Segal (1997) for an excellent study of the monumental buildings in the region of Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.

23 See Sullivan (1978) 337 for *CIL* 3.14387, inscription to Agrippa II at Heliopolis which gives transliterated and translated titles for 'king.'

24 Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.211–13, Feldman translation 10:113.

25 Josephus, *Life* 49, 181, and 357; Thackeray translation 1:21, 69, and 131.

26 *Proavus* can be specifically 'great-grandfather.'

27 [R]EGINA BERENICE, REGIS MAGNI A|GRIPPAE FIL(IA) ET REX AGRIPPA TEMPLUM (?), QU|OD REX HERODES PROAVOS EORUM FECERAT, VE| TUSTATE CORRUPTUM, A SOLO RESTITUERUNT| MARBORIBUSQUE1 ET COLUMNIS, [S]EX…EXORNAVERUNT. I have reproduced the Latin text as given in Lauffray (1944–6) 56. The inscription has also been published in *CRAI* (1927) 243; *AE* (1928) no. 82; Cagnat (1928); and Mouterde (1942–3) 31. The translation is taken from Jidejian (1973) 45.

28 See Gruen (1984) for full discussion of the significance of this term and specific examples of relations between the Romans and Hellenistic powers. In the case of Titus, Agrippa II, and Berenice, the relation appears to have been especially close. Berenice and Agrippa II visited Titus in Rome in 75 AD, and she lived with the conqueror of Judaea for several years, until his accession. See Suetonius, *Titus 7* and Braund (1984) 20.

29 For Herod's friendship with Augustus, see Josephus and Nicolaus of Damascus. The celebration of the reconquest of Judaea by Titus was celebrated in Berytus. Note also Berenice's association with Titus. See Gruen (1984), Schürer, Vermes, and Millar (1973) and Sullivan (1978) for additional discussion of the relations of the Herodian dynasty with Roman rulers.

30 Lauffray (1978) 152, fig. 9.

31 The most accessible summary of the results of recent archaeological campaigns is summarized in Perring (2003). See also the various articles published in *BAAL,* and *ARAM* in this bibliography. See the articles by these authors (in alphabetical order): Albert and Bartl, Arnaud, Aubert, Badre, Bouzek, Butcher, Cumberpatch, Curvers, Elayi, Finkbeiner, Ghadban, Kouly, Ortali-Tarazi, Perring, Sader, Saghieh-Beyhoun, Sawaya and Rehal, Sayegh, Seeden, Sheehan, Stuart, and Thorpe. The pottery studies by Evans, Reynolds and Hayes are crucial for establishing the extent of trade and the chronology of various levels of the stratigraphy. Criticism of the excavations has been voiced in publications by Wardini and Naccache; the

relation of the excavations and the reconstruction of the modern city is examined in writings by Khalaf and Khoury, Hakimian, Elayi and Sayegh, Cumberpatch, Gavin and Malouf, Rowe and Sarkis, Perring, and Seeden.

32 See Lauffray (1978) 154 for conjectured colonnaded streets and 149 for epigraphic evidence for shops. Current excavations in Beirut clarify the existence of these structures. See Romano (1993) and Walbank (1997) for centuriation in Corinth, as an example of the procedure followed in laying out a Roman colony.

33 See Chapter 7 on paganism for additional details.

34 It is common for coins to represent only a few of the actual number of columns in a temple; Burnett (1999).

35 G.F.Hill (1910), especially p. 78, coins 167–8, Macrinus on obverse. See Jidejian (1973) pl. 138 for another coin of Poseidon.

36 See Poliakoff (1987) for overview of such athletic competition in antiquity. Sweet (1987) 80–8 publishes ancient *testimonia* and vase paintings of the *pancration*.

37 Moretti (1953), no. 72; translated in Millar (1990) 8.

38 Mitchell (1987) has a good survey of imperial construction in the Greek East; see also Rose (1997) for the imperial placement of statues in the provinces.

39 Mouterde (1964).

40 Jidejian (1973) 49 and pls 38 and 39; Mouterde (1964) 166; see Liebeschuetz (2002c) and Scobie (1986) for sewers and removal of waste.

41 [imp.cae.] S.VESPANIAN[i. aug] UM ET COL.TABER[NAM] SIGNUM LIBERI PATRIS. Cagnat (1924), 111, no. 7; Lauffray (1978) 149.

42 See Bourne (1946) for the public works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians.

43 Lauffray (1978) 148–9.

44 Cleve (1988); Birley (1988b).

45 For the basilica in Berytus see Lauffray (1944–6) 35–57 with many drawings and Lauffray (1978) 156–7 which gives the dimensions of 99 meters in length and 31.6 meters in width. The inscription to Berenice was found here, so it may date to the Herodian era. The inscription to Julia Domna was found in an edifice in a building on the opposite side of the agora.

46 JULIAE DOMNAE AUG(USTAE) MATRI CASTR(ORUM) [COL(ONIA) JUL(IA)] FEL(IX) BER(YTUS) P(UBLI)C(E) DEC(URIONUM) <DE>CR(ETO). I have reproduced the inscription as published in Lauffray (1944–6) 60, no. 2= *AE* 1950, no. 230. It is quoted and discussed in Lauffray (1978) 149. Lauffray dates the inscription between 204–17 AD. My translation is given. ‘Mother of the camp’ refers to the army in its winter quarters, and is thus appropriate language for a veteran colony. See Lusnia (1995) for Julia Domna’s coinage and Severan propaganda.

47 Butcher (1996b). See also Ghadban (1997) for other Latin inscriptions recently discovered in the excavations in Beirut.

48 Conflicting opinions of Caracalla: Herodian 4.3.7–4.8.1 (lengthy account, negative); Zosimus 1.9 (negative view because of murder of Geta); John Malalas 295 (positive view, loved by the people). Some inscriptional evidence honors various building projects.

49 IMP CAES M AURELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS PART MAX BRIT MAX GERM MAXIMVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS MONTIBVS INMINENTIBVS LYCO FLVMINI CAESIS VIAM DELATAVIT PER *leg iii gallicam* ANTONINIANAM SVAM. *CIL* III.206. The titles are standard; the

emperor is Caracalla. Nearby is inscription *CIL* III.207 which may be a congratulatory inscription from a loyal soldier or inscribed for luck at the emperor's command: INVICTE IMP/ANTONINE PIE FELIX AVG/MVLTIS ANNIS IMPERES. 'Unconquered emperor/Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus/may you command for many years!'

50 Millar (1992) 50–1 notes that Elagabalus conferred the status of *colonia* upon Sidon and upon Arca (known also as Caesarea ad Libanum), and Petra.

51 See Burnett (1999) for how to interpret buildings represented on coins.

52 Nasir-i-Khusrau, *Book of Travels,* Thackston translation, 15–6; discussion in Jidejian (1973) 47–8.

53 Agathias 2.15.1–4; Frendo translation, 47–8. See section on the evidence of the earthquake narratives.

54 Humphrey (1986).

55 A.Segal (1995) and (1997).

56 The phylactery published in Jordan (1991) and Gager (1992) 234 refers to a bath, perhaps the one which has been excavated in Berytus. See Jidejian (1973) plates 236–8 for clear representation of the hypocaust and overview of the building. See Lauffray (1978) 152 for plan showing the location of the bath and 156 for discussion of some remains of the bath.

57 Thorough discussion in Lauffray (1944–6) of evidence to that date. Lauffray (1978) only addresses material up through the Roman period. A projected article on the Byzantine period was unfortunately never published; Lauffray, personal correspondence, 18 January 1994. See Lauffray (1946–8) for medieval Beirut.

58 Rossiter (1989).

59 Raschka (1996) 44–50.

60 See Perring, Seeden, Sheehan and Williams (1996); Perring (1997–8) and (2001–2).

61 Evans (1996) found from an early analysis of a limited quantity of the pottery found in Beirut that pottery from the third century BC to first century AD and then from the fifth and sixth centuries was common, with fewer samples found from the second and third centuries AD. See also the publications by Reynolds.

62 'Berytus, civitas valde deliciosa et auditoria legum habens per quam omnia iudicia Romanorum [stare videntur]. Inde enim viri in omnem orbem terrarum adsident iudicibus et scientes leges custodiunt provincias, quibus mittuntur legum ordinationes.' *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* XXV, E (Rougé edition) 158–60. My translation is based on the passage quoted above in comparison with XXV, D.

63 *Cod. Theod.* 6.21.1, 14.9–3, and 15.1.53 were all given at Constantinople in 425 AD.

64 *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.6 given in 364 AD (no place of issuance given) states that a man suitable in character or in eloquence may either establish a new *auditorium* or seek one that has been abandoned.

65 See Stern (1965) for the floors of early Christian churches. See also Butler (1929), Lassus (1947), and Duval and Caillet (1982).

66 *Vie de Severe* 48. See Chapter 8 on the church in Berytus for further descriptions.

67 *Vie de Sévère* 69.

68 *Vie de Sévère* 63.

69 *Vie de Sévère* 55.

70 *Vie de Sévère* 71.

71 First-year students. The etymology of the term is unclear, but it may relate to a military rank or an amount of money paid. See Collinet (1925) 221 for the controversy about this term. Marrou (1956) 290–1 has a brief discussion of the education of the law students. Collinet (1925) 225–34 and *passim* has detailed study of the education of the law students. Their explanations are based on Justinian's specification of the legal curriculum in the *Institutes* and the *Constitutio Omnem*.

72 Young (1990) 319, translating *Vie de Sévère* 46–8.

73 See now Gregory (2000) who draws attention to Procopius's numerous descriptions of churches near the water, either for the aesthetic appeal or for the convenience of unloading marble.

74 Lassus (1967) 35. Butler (1929) has numerous diagrams and photographs of churches from southern and northern Syria which reveal the space requirements of the ecclesiastical structures. See also Saidah (1978) for the excavation reports of the churches at nearby Khan Kaldé.

75 *Vie de Sévère* 72; translated in Trombley (1993) 2:43.

76 See sections on urban matrix of the classical city in Chapter 5 and on paganism in Chapter 7.

77 See *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.36 (397 AD) for designation of materials from demolished temples for the repair of roads, bridges, walls, and aqueducts.

78 John Malalas *Chronicle* 13.39 (345). The temple of Aphrodite he [Theodosius the Great] made into a carriage-house for the pretorian prefect, and he built lodging-houses close by and gave orders that penniless prostitutes could stay there free of charge.' Translation by Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott (1986) 187.

79 See discussion in the section on *martyria* in Chapter 8 and the citation to the *Oracle of Baalbek* for such conversions. Greek text and English translation in Alexander (1967) 14–5 and 25–6. Compare Gregory (1986) and Fowden (1978).

80 English translation (based on both the French and Syriac texts) by Trombley (1993) 2:35 of *Vie de Sévère* 58.

81 Libanius, *Orat.*3.12 and *Orat.*31.4 in Foerster, vol. I, p. 271 and vol. III, p. 143. See Jidejian (1973) pls 155–6 for terracotta actor's mask found at Berytus.

82 See Gager (1992) 42–77 for definitive publication and comparable inscriptions. Gager 53–6 has an English translation and a reproduction of the drawing based on the one originally published in Mouterde (1931) 106–23. Mouterde also has a Greek text and French translation. See also *SEG* VII 213 for the text and two subsequent entries in *SEG* (1958) 847 and *SEG* (1990) 1396. Maricq (1952) republished Mouterde's drawing. A.Cameron (1976) 209 accepted the fourth-century date suggested by Mouterde (1930) 122 due to the reference in the *Expositio* XXXII to the hippodromes in Syria at Antioch, Laodicea, Berytus, Tyre, and Caesarea. Cameron (1976) 317 noted the publication of a mosaic inscription to the 'Blues' in a bath near the hippodrome of Tyre, published in Chéhab (1973) 20. Compare to the inscription found in Heliopolis (Baalbek) at the Temple of Bacchus which supports the 'Blues.' *IGLS* VI. 2836; *nike he tyche Beneton* 'May the fortune *(Tyche)* of the "Blues" be victorious!' See now Humphrey (1986) and Rey-Coquais (2002).

83 *Divinitatem dicendi* is difficult to translate in this context and may suggest 'beautiful singing' or even the 'gift of speaking oracles or prophesying.' The

continuous tradition of oracular pronouncement at Heliopolis is discussed in Chuvin (1990) and Alexander (1967).

84 'Habes ergo Antiochiam quidem in omnibus delectabilibus abundantem, maxime autem circensibus… Ecce similiter Laodicia circenses et Tyrus et Berytus et Caesarea; sed Laodicia mittit aliis civitatibus agitatores optimos, Tyrus et Berytus mimarios, Caesarea pantomimos, Heliopolis choraulas, maxime quod a Libano Musae illis inspirent divinitatem dicendi. Aliquando autem et Gaza bonos auditores; dicitur etiam habere eam pammacharios, Ascalon athletas luctatores, Castabala calopectas.' *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (Rougé edition) 32.E; my translation; see also Vasiliev. The talents of Theodora as a pantomime at Antioch are reported in Procopius (*Anecdota* VI.1; XII.28; IX.10–25). See A. Cameron (1976) 205–14 for discussion; he notes that in the *Expositio,* the term *circenses* means both the games and the structures.

85 Libanius, *Or.* 19–28. My translation based on Norman (1977) 2:287. See A. Cameron (1976) 244, n. 4, for discussion.

86 See Moss (1935) and Cramer (1980) for homily by Jacob of Serugh against pantomimes in Syria; Bowersock (1990) 37.

87 *Cod.* Theod.15.5.3 only lists *aurigae,* 'charioteers;' the later law adds *histriones,* 'actors.'

88 Pharr, pp. 432–3.

89 Pharr, pp. 433–5. See Evans Grubbs (2001) and Fear (1991) for actresses and dancers.

90 Trombley (1993) 2:31, translating *Vie de SévèZre* 51. Compare to Roueché (1993) and Humphrey (1986).

91 *Vie de Sévère* 54.

92 Discussed in section on conversion in Chapter 8.

93 Liebeschuetz (1972) 55: 'Libanius tells us that goods could be bought at Antioch all over the city. As a result, no single part of the city could be called "agora." Now we know from several sources, including Libanius's *Autobiography,* that Antioch had an "agora" in the normal sense: a large square, suitable for public buildings or markets and surrounded by public buildings… In other words, Antioch did not have a single shopping centre… Facilities for shopping were provided in every part of the city.' See Chapter 3 on the economy in which some evidence suggests a market area in Berytus; however, such markets could be for sections of the city rather than central ones.

94 See Chapter 10 on the artisans.

95 See Chapter 2 on geographic setting, especially the travel narratives of Theophanes the bureaucrat, and the pilgrims Egeria, Jerome, and Antoninus Placentinus. See also Wilkinson (1999) and (2002), Hunt (1982), J.F. Matthews (1989a), Casson (1974), and Constantelos (1991).

96 See Dauphin (1996) for discussion of connection between baths and prostitutes.

97 There is no specific literary evidence for the temples of Berytus or their replacement. The article by Fowden (1978) has many ancedotes about such destruction or conversions of temples to churches in the Greek East. See also the important article by Gregory (1986) which addresses this issue in the context of Late Antique Greece.

98 Libanius, *Or.* 19 and 20, concerning the 'Riot of the Statues,' translated in Norman (1977) 2:268–347.

99 See the section on mosaicists in Chapter 10 on the artisans and pp. 171–6 on the churches of Berytus.

100 See Lauffray (1978) with drawings and descriptions.

101 See J.F.Mathews (1993) for psychological impact of art and architecture.

102 J.P.Brown (1969) 126–9 has worked hard to reconcile the chronologies of the various accounts. See K.W.Russell (1985) for a recent study of earthquake chronologies in the region.

103 Agathias 2.15.1–4. *Agathias: The Histories,* Frendo translation 47–8. See Av. Cameron (1970) 113–5 for discussion of Agathias's theory of earthquakes.

104 See Beydoun (1997), Saghieh-Beidoun (1997), Croke (1981), Plassard (1968), and K.W.Russell (1985) for studies of earthquakes in Beirut and the region.

105 John Malalas, *Chronographia* 18 (485) in *PG* 97.701–4; English translation by Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott (1986), 291. From the *Tusculan Fragments,* the translators insert for 18.485.8: 'In this year in the reign of our most pious lord, on the 6th day of the month of July, in the 14th indiction.' From the same source, the translators offer this variant reading for 18.485.10–14: 'Many cities collapsed in the area of Phoenice Maritima—that is, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and other cities, and certain of their surrounding areas also fell… Large numbers of men and animals were swallowed up in these cities.'

106 The devastation by the earthquake and the tidal wave as well as the restoration of the city by Justinian are also recorded by Theophanes the Confessor (760–817 AD) in his *Chronographia* (de Boor 227.21–228.4 for *annus mundi* 6043); the text is also given in *PG* 108.499–500, with Latin translation. Theophanes's account closely follows that of John Malalas.

107 In their introduction the translators explain their methods and justify their procedure for distinguishing Malalas within other texts. The argument is too complex to detail here. The reader is directed to the translation of *The Chronicle* by Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott (1986) xxi–xli and to the accompanying *book* of historical essays by Jeffreys, Croke, and Scott (1990).

108 This translation of John of Ephesus, citation not given, appears as a very lengthy 'subtext' for 18 (485) 20–3 of *The Chronicle* of John Malalas translated by Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott (1986), 291–2. The text of John of Ephesus is taken from the *Commentarii de beatis orientalibus et historiae ecclesiasticae fragmenta,* with Latin translation by W.J.van Douwen and J.P.N.Land (Amsterdam 1889) 224–43.

109 H.Kennedy (1985b) has suggested that Late Antique cities did not maintain their aqueducts but instead began to use cisterns for their water supply in the century between Justinian and the Arab invasions. He does note that Justinian also rebuilt the aqueduct in Antioch after same earthquake.

110 The inhabitants of Sidon were apparently proverbial in antiquity for stupidity and boorishness. In Baldwin (1983) there are several jokes (numbers 132–8) about the people of Sidon. Two examples will suffice. *132:* 'A Sidonian merchant went on a journey with a colleague. Whilst pausing to relieve himself, he got left behind a little. His companion left a message for him on one of the columns of a milestone: Hurry up and Catch Me. When the Sidonian got there and read it, he wrote underneath it: You Wait for Me.' *136:* 'A Sidonian professor asked a schoolteacher how much a five-litre flask holds. "That all depends whether you mean oil or wine".'Baldwin (vii) notes evidence for a date ranging as late as the tenth century

but suggests that the Latinisms and ecclesiastical language suggest the vernacular Greek of the early Byzantine chroniclers. *The Philogelos or Laughter-lover* provides, as Baldwin hoped, a window into the social realities of the Greco-Roman world.

111 The difficulties in translating the so-called Antonine Pilgrim should be self-evident. Variant readings offered by the editor only reveal more eccentric spellings which may come from textual transmission as well as the idiosyncratic form of the account. Perhaps the piety of the pilgrim surpassed his command of grammar and orthography. The hiatus is in the text.

112 See discussion of silk-workers in Chapter 10 on artisans.

113 Venimus in partes Syriae in insula Antharidus et inde venimus in Tripoli Syriae, in qua sanctus Leontius requiescit; quae civitas tempore Iustiniani imperatoris subversa est a terrae motu cum aliis civitatibus. Venimus exinde Biblo, quae et ipsa subversa est cum hominibus, item in Triarim civitatem, quae et ipsa similiter subversa est. Deinde venimus in civitate splendisssima Birito, in qua nuper studium litterarum. Quae civitas subversa; dicente nobis episcopo civitatis, quia cognitae personae, quae sciebantur nominatim, excepto peregrinis triginta milia ad breve missi hic perierunt. Ipsa civitas iacet sub montana Libani. A Berito venimus Sidona, quae ex parte ruit et ipsa adhaerit Libano; homines in ea pessimi. Illic currit fluvius Asclipius et de fonte unde exsurgit stat… De Sidona venimus Sarapta, quae civitas modica christiana nimis est, in qua est cenaculus ille, qui factus fuerat Heliae, et ipsum lectum ibi est, ubi recubuit, et alveus marmoreus, ubi illa vidua infermentavit. In quo loco multa offeruntur; multae virtutes illic fient. Exeuntes de Sarapta venimus in civitatem Tyro. Inter Sidona et Tyrum et Saraptam continuo milia septem. Tyro homines potentes, vita pessima tantae luxuriae, quae dici non potest; genicia publica olosirica vel diversis generibus telarum. Et inde venimus Ptolomaida. Civitas honesta, monasteria bona. Latin text found in *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium. CCSL,* 175, 129–30. My translation. Compare to Wilkinson (2002) 129–51. See Casson (1974) and Hunt (1982) for additional discussion of his journey and the travel facilities and attractions available on such a journey. See also Elsner (1997) and J.F.Matthews (1989a) on the consequences of pilgrimage.

114 For Syria see H.Kennedy (1985a) and (1985b), now somewhat revised in (1992). Whittow (1990) and (2003) has an excellent overall summary of evidence and bibliography from the wider Greek East. Weiss (1977), Kazhdan and Cutler (1982), J.Russell (1986), and Foss (1977) have provoked much discussion of the role of invasion, plague, and other factors on the evolution or decline of the 'classical' city. See now Liebeschuetz (200 la) for the idea of decline and B.Ward-Perkins (1996) for the concept of transformation. Jordan, like Syria, continues to produce evidence for a vigorous survival into the early seventh century; see Kaegi (1989) and Liebeschuetz (2000b). See Abrahamse (1967) for a fine comparative study of cities outside the Levant. See also Wickham (1984) for change on a larger stage.

115 Lauffray (1944–6) 62, referring to a colonnade indicated by five column bases.

116 Procopius, *Buildings* 2.10.19–25; 5; Dewing translation 7:171–3.

117 See John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* for descriptions of persons asssisting bishops. See John Lydus, *On Powers* for the large numbers of imperial bureaucrats in the time of Justinian.

118 See Egeria's account of translation in these three language groups in the churches in the Holy Land (p. 177).

119 It may be pointed out that the Latin in the legal codes of the East is 'superior' to the Latin of the visitor from the West. Provincial preservation of a language in its earlier form is a widely known phenomenon. One may consider the instances of the 'purer' Latin preserved in Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries and the nineteenth-century British phraseology found in the speeech of post-colonial India. See Kaster (1988) for the role of grammarians in preservation of language in areas outside Rome. Baldwin (1985) also has some useful remarks on the preservation of Latin in the provinces.

120 H.Kennedy (1992) 196 notes that none of the coastal cities (Tyre, Sidon, Beirut) retained their classical street patterns into the Islamic period. See L.C. Brown (1973) for the evolution of the Islamic *madina* into the modern metropolis. See Elisséeff (1960) for Beirut (Bayrut) in the Islamic era.

6
PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE ERAS

Pompey's settlement of the East led to the formation of the province of Syria in 64 BC which was used through the succeeding centuries as a power base for launching and sustaining military operations. Various legions were either based there or sent forth to implement the plans of the leaders of Rome, especially the emperors. The governors were chosen because of distinguished service at Rome as consuls, or praetors. Their roots were frequently Italian. As the empire changed, the governors were chosen for their military prowess and experience in the wider empire. In order to understand better the role that Berytus played in the centuries of Roman domination, it is important to understand the administration of the province in which Berytus is situated. Therefore, an extensive presentation will be made of provincial organization and its identity in the empire. The first province to be considered is that of Syria; the second will be Phoenicia, as established by Septimius Severus.[1]

Syria under the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians

After the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus placed this province under his personal control in 27 BC, as a buffer against the Parthian threat. A permanent garrison of three legions was established in the province; after Augustus four legions were garrisoned there for easy movement to unstable regions, such as Judaea.[2] Augustus's son-in-law Marcus Agrippa was the administrator in charge from 23 to 13 BC. Although he was only briefly present early on, later in 15 BC he returned and is credited with establishing the colony of Berytus.[3]

The governors were based at Antioch but seemed to be able to move quickly from there to the south and to the east. Most governors appear to have been selected from former consuls and to have served in the province for several years.

The first known legate from about 25 to 23 BC was Varro, now more fully identified as L.Licinius Varro Murena. In this administration Augustus transferred areas of Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis from Zenodoros to Herod the Great in 24 BC.[4] The next known Roman legate was M. Titius, son of Lucius, who served from about 13 BC to about 10 BC. Titius had been consul suffect in Rome in 31 BC.[5] The next legate was C. Sentius (son of Gaius,

grandson of Saturninus) who served from 10 BC to 8/7 BC. He too had been consul earlier in Rome in 19 BC. He presided over a tribunal called by Herod against his sons, and is known to have visited Berytus.[6]

Even better known is the next governor P.Quinctilius Varus, son of Sextus, who served as legate from 7 BC to about 4 BC, having been consul in 13 BC. He presided along with Herod over the trial against his son Antipater and restored order in Judaea after Herod's death in 4 BC. A coin honoring both Augustus and Varus was issued at the mint in Berytus.[7] L. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul in 15 BC followed as legate of Syria from about 4 BC to 1 BC.[8] Lucius Volusius Saturninus who had been suffect consul in 12 BC was legate of Syria from 4 to 6 AD. In this period Augustus dethroned King Archelaos of Judaea and made Judaea part of Syria.[9]

From 6 to 7 AD the legate of Roman Syria was P. Sulpicius Quirinius who had been consul in 12 AD. He is well-known for being mentioned in the biblical narrative and is documented in a well-known inscription erected in Berytus by Quintus Aemilus Secundus to commemorate his career which included service under Quirinius.[10]

From about 11 to 17 AD Q.Caecilus Metellus Creticus Silanus was the legate of Syria. He had been consul in 7 AD and was the last legate appointed by Augustus. It seems that his friendship with Germanicus led to his removal by Tiberius.[11] Tiberius's choice was Cn. Calpurnius Piso who also had been consul in 7 AD and then served as legate in Syria from 17–19 AD. Piso was removed from this position by Germanicus and then tried to regain this position by arms after Germanicus's death. He committed suicide in Rome in 20 AD when it became clear that popular opinion held him responsible for Germanicus's death and that Tiberius would not help him.[12] The legate appointed to fill Piso's position was Cn. Sentius Saturninus who was suffect consul in 4 AD and was also a younger son of C. Sentius Saturninus. This Saturninus served in Syria from 19 to 21 or 23 AD.[13]

Tiberius ceased replacing the governors of the provinces and left many in place for up to ten years. Some of these legates governed through prolegates. L.Aelius Lamia (consul in 3 AD) seems to have been appointed in 23 AD and served until 32 when he was appointed *praefectus urbi*. Pacuvius, who had led *leg*. *VI Ferrata* on behalf of Saturninus against the attempt of Piso to regain the legateship, seems to have been the *de facto* governor of Syria in Lamia's term, but he may not have been satisfactory as some comments in Seneca suggest.[14] Lamia's successor, L.Pomponius Flaccus (consul 17 AD) served until he died in office (32 or 33 AD), and he is definitely known from Josephus's narrative about Agrippa, one of the sons of Aristobulos, a grandson of Herod the Great, and a friend of Flaccus.[15] After Pomponius's death, Tiberius did not immediately appoint a successor; it seems that the legate of the legions governed the province for a year until the pressure of the Armenians and Parthians forced Tiberius to appoint a successor L. Vitellius who served from 35 to 39. Vitellius had been consul in 34 and then rose to later prominence as consul ordinarius in 43 and in

47. Notable events in his reign included the removal of Pontius Pilate from the governorship of Judaea and the abolition of some taxes on the residents of Jerusalem.[16] His successor was P.Petronius (suffect consul in 19) who managed to delay implementing Caligula's order to put up the emperor's statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. Petronius served from 39 to 42 AD and thus ensured stability into the reign of Claudius.[17] His successor was C. Vibius Marsus (suffect consul in 17) who served from 42 to 44. He was dismissed after a conflict with Agrippa I, king of Judaea, who was succeeded by his son Agrippa II. Marsus considered the alliance of the old king with five other client kings to be a threat to Rome's control of the region.[18]

The next governor is of interest to us because he was also a famous jurist. C.Cassius Longinus (suffect consul in 30) was appointed in 44 AD to deal with problems along the border with Mesopotamia but also was embroiled in events in Judaea related to whether the Roman government or the Jewish priests would maintain control of the religious vestments and objects of the Jews. Perhaps more relevant to our study of Berytus is the fame that Longinus gained as a jurist who composed a treatise on civil law in ten volumes and also co-founded a law school in Rome (Sabiniani/Cassiani). His mother was the daughter of one of the most famous of all the Roman lawyers, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.[19] It is tempting to speculate that he in some way influenced an interest in the law in the province he administered but there is no evidence for this. However, his lengthy term (44–*c.* 51 AD) gave him the time and opportunity to foster an interest in the law in his province.

C.Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (suffect consul about AD 40) was governor of Syria for over ten years, from 51 to 60. He was in Tyre in 52 when he sat for court hearings there. From a milestone found in the environs of Berytus, it is known that in 56 AD Ummidius supervised construction work on one of the main roads of the province which ran along the Mediterranean coast and linked Ptolemais with Antioch-on-the-Orantes.[20] Cn. Domitius Corbulo (suffect consul 39) who had been put in charge of the legions of Syria in anticipation of war with Parthia while Ummidius was alive, served as the next governor of the province, from 60 to 63. He was well-known for his military successes in Germania and Armenia, and his appointment suggests that Syria needed his military expertise.[21] Since Corbulo was given a wider military command against Parthia in the war over Armenia, C.Cestius Gallus (suffect consul in 42) was appointed his successor as legate of Syria from 63 to 67 when he died. He is best remembered for his handling of the war in Judaea, notably the loss of Masada to Jewish insurgents and the defeat of *leg. XII Fulminata*.[22]

When Nero entrusted Vespasian with the command of military operations in Judaea in February of 67 AD, C.Licinius Mucianus seems to have been appointed legate of Syria at approximately the same time. He was opposed to the selection of Vitellius, a previous legate of Syria, as emperor. When Vespasian sought to become the new emperor, Mucianus was sent to Rome with a corps of soldiers from the Syrian legions and *auxilia* to seize Rome. Mucianus had been

suffect consul in 64 and served again in 70 when Vespasian was emperor.[23] Mucianus had been an efficient governor of Syria as the tax law of Palmyra attests, and he had also effectively opposed the reduction of Jewish privileges in Antioch. [24]

When Mucianus left Syria, the province for a time was under the direct administration of Vespasian. In 70 AD Vespasian appointed L.Iunus Caesennius Paetus (consul in 61) as legate of Syria, but for a time the province was administered by Cn. Pompeius Collega, legate of *leg. IV Scythica.* Paetus did take control in 72 and conducted an effective campaign against Antiochus IV of Commagene which was then added to the province of Syria. A milestone found in the environs of Berytus was placed on the road from Antioch to Ptolemais and specifically names Paetus as the legate.[25] When Paetus died in 73, his successor was A.Marius Celsus (suffect consul in 69) who seems to have died in the same year. He had been a supporter of Vitellius and had also served as legate of *leg. XV Apollinaris* when he fought under Corbulo in Armenia.[26]

The successor to Celsus was M.Ulpius Traianus, father of the future emperor. The senior Trajan had been suffect consul in 70; he served as legate of Syria from 73 to 78. A milestone from 75 AD commemorates the improvement of the road from Palmyra to Sura on the Euphrates in Mesopotamia while another dated to 75/76 marks the crossing of the roads from Apamaea to Palmyra and from Chalcis to Emesa. There is also an inscription for a canal north of Antioch. The son and future emperor served as a military tribune under his father in a Syrian legion. As a family with ties to the Roman colony of Italica in Spain, the Ulpii may have felt a special interest in the colony of Berytus and in strengthening the infrastructure for travel and commerce in the province.[27]

L.Ceionius Commodus (consul in 78) became the legate of Syria after Traianus. It is thought that he began his term in 78 and ended it in 82 AD.[28]

Successive legates are less well-known. T.Atilius Rufus, legate from 82 to 84, is attested by a milestone and by a reference in Tacitus's *Agricola*. He had been suffect consul at an unknown date.[29] After T.Atilius Rufus, the next known legate of Syria was P.Valerius Patruinus (consul suffect 82) who served as governor of Syria from about 87 to 90.[30] Succeeding this legate was A.Bucius Lappius Maximus (suffect consul in 86 and again in 95) who seems to have served from 90 to 93. He appears to have been loyal to Domitian and is mentioned in a soldier's diploma and in an inscription from Gerasa.[31] After 93 it is difficult to establish the chronology of the next few legates. C.Octavius Tidius Tossianus L.Iacolenus Priscus (suffect consul in 86) seems to have served from 93 to 96 in Syria. He was governor of Germania Superior prior to coming to Syria and followed his stint in Syria with the proconsulship of Africa. Considered one of the most eminent jurists of his day, he served as a member of Trajan's *consilium*.[32]

After the death of Domitian, the next governor was M.Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus (suffect consul in 83) whose governorship has been now dated to about 96 to 97. He put himself forward as a successor to the emperor Nerva

but did not raise a civil war to further his ambition. Such a bid reflects the continuing importance of the province of Syria and its legions.[33] A. Larcius Priscus (suffect consul in 110) was appointed to the governorship in Syria when Nerva was able to quell the unrest in Syria by adopting M. Ulpius Traianus who was then serving as governor of Germania Superior. Priscus seems to have held a dual appointment as legate of *leg. IV Scythica* and also took on the duties of governor *(pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae)*.[34]

C.Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus (suffect consul in 94 and ordinary consul in 105) is the first on the list of governors known to have been appointed by Trajan. He may have begun his governorship of Syria in 100 and finished in 104. Originally from Pergamum, he was a member of the provincial aristocracy. He had been adlected to the Senate by Vespasian and also served as one of the Arval brethren. He had held many praetorian positions before receiving his first consulship, he held only civilian positions, and he held all his posts except the consulships in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman empire. He appears to have been very wealthy, was honored in numerous inscriptions and even funded periodic games in honor of Trajan.[35]

The legate of Syria from 104 to 108 was A.Cornelius Palma Frontonianus (consul in 99 and again in 109) who is known mainly for his annexation of the Nabataean state in 106. This was then called the province of Arabia and a 'conquest' was attributed to Trajan. For this action which met virtually no resistance, Palma had at his disposal the legions of both Syria and Judaea. Like other generals who had excelled under Trajan, he was murdered at the behest of the Senate but supposedly against Hadrian's will. His legateship in Syria is well-attested by both Dio Cassius and a series of inscriptions found in ancient Canatha (modern Qanawat).[36] The successor to Palma was L.Fabius Justus (suffect consul in 102) who seems also to have served a four-year governorship of Syria from 108 to 112 which is attested by three inscriptions. Two were on milestones and the third one presents information on the construction of a military hospital *(valetudinarium)* in the camp of *coh. IIII Lucensium*.[37] He appears to have been one of the more important friends of Trajan and even corresponded with Pliny the Younger (*Epp.* 1.11 and 7.2).

C.Iulius Quadratus Bassus (suffect consul in 105) was governor of Syria from 114–117 during the reign of Trajan. Also from Pergamum, he was a member of the provincial aristocracy; his legateship in Syria is attested by three inscriptions.[38] He was an accomplished commander who served Rome from the reign of Domitian to that of Hadrian and was given a state funeral in Rome after his death in Dacia in 117.[39] His appointment as governor of Syria in this period surely indicates that military prowess was valued at this time in the history of the province.

P.Aelius P.f. Ser. Hadrianus, who had been suffect consul in 108, served as governor of Syria in 117 AD. Hadrian governed the province for only a few months before becoming emperor. He may have felt a particular interest in proper provincial administration since he himself had been born in another soldier

colony, that of Italica in Spain. His family was the Ulpii Traiani; they had been a senatorial family for a number of generations in Spain. His career is documented in Dio, the *SHA,* and an inscription found in Athens.[40] It is tempting to see some sort of connection with Ulpian the great jurist from Tyre, even if it is just a matter of taking the emperor's name in the adoptive form due to gaining citizenship in his reign.

L.Catilius Severus served as the governor of Syria from 117–119 AD. He had been suffect consul in 110 and subsequently was consul ordinary in 120. He was the first governor of Syria appointed by Hadrian. From Bithynia, he was probably descended from a veteran who had been settled at Apamea by Caesar. The Catilii seem to have been senators in the second and third centuries. By marriage he was related to the Annii, the family of the future emperor Marcus Aurelius. He was also a friend of Pliny the Younger. Dabrowa speculates that these significant family connections put him into disfavor in 138 and led to his death.[41]

C.Quinctius Certus Poblicius Marcellus was governor of Syria from 131–135, having been suffect consul in 120.[42] His career seems closely connected to that of C.Julius Severus who was legate of *legio IV Scythica* which was stationed in Syria. The careers of both were commemorated in two inscriptions found in Ankara and one from Palmyra. Marcellus played an important role in suppressing the Bar Kochba revolt (132–5 AD) when the governor of Judaea. Q.Tineius Rufus was surprised by the extent of the rebellion. Marcellus's role was so significant that Hadrian honored him with the *ornamenta triumphalia*. Like many other governors he was not from the province. Onomastic evidence links him to one of the leading families of Aquileia. He was governor of Germania Superior prior to serving in Syria.

Cn.Minicius Faustinus Sex. Julius Severus was the next governor of Syria, from 135 to about 136.[43] He had been consul suffect in 127, and he had been governor of Judaea before being governor in Syria. His appointment in Judaea seems to have been made directly at the end of the Bar Kochba revolt. From Aequum in Dalmatia, he appears to have been the descendant of a veteran who had been settled there. He himself had a very distinguished military career, and served as a quaestor and a tribune of the people under Trajan. After being praetor, he had command of *legio XIV Gemina* and then was governor of Dacia Superior. He went on to be legate for four imperial provinces in succession: Moesia Inferior, Britain, Judaea, and Syria. After serving in Judaea, he was rewarded by Hadrian with *ornamenta triumphalia* and the legateship of Syria.

Sextus Julius Major was governor of Syria from about 136–40 AD.[44] Having been consul suffect in perhaps 126, he seems to have been governor of Moesia Inferior and Superior before becoming governor of Syria. We see in his career the rise of the provincial aristocracy. He was from Nysa ad Maeandrum, with a link through his wife's family to both Pythagoras, a friend of Pompey, and Marc Antony, whose sister Antonia married Pythagoras.

L.Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus had been suffect consul in about 135.[45] An inscription from the city of Minturnae makes clear that Ligarianus was governor of Syria in 140 and died in office. He was not from Minturnae but was a patron of the city which was also a colony. His home has been traced to Italy, or Africa, or Spain. He had been governor of Cappadocia under Hadrian before serving as governor of Syria under Antoninus Pius.

Sulpicius Julianus was definitely legate of Syria during the reign of Antoninus Pius.[46] After serving as consul in an unknown year, he seems to have been governor of Syria from about 147 to 150. Inscriptions from Seleucia Pieria reveal that some construction work was carried out on a Roman fleet in that city during Julianus's governorship. The work was performed by the soldiers of the legions stationed in Syria.[47]

M.Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus[48] had been consul suffect in 144 and served as governor of Syria from 150–4. He had been legate of Pannonia Superior prior to coming to Syria. Laelianus himself had enjoyed the favor of Hadrian as he had received the post of *ab actis senatus* and held the tribunate of the plebs as Hadrian's candidate. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, he held the legateships of imperial provinces in which armies were stationed: two of these provinces had consular rank. He was highly regarded for his military discipline, and perhaps for this reason was appointed by Marcus Aurelius as a *comes* of Verus during the war against the Parthians. During the fighting against the German tribes, he was re-appointed as *comes,* first of Lucius Verus, and then after his death, of Marcus Aurelius himself. On the emperor's request, the senate honored Sabinus with a statue in the Forum of Trajan. He not only achieved high military and political success, but he also held important priesthoods in Rome. His son, M.Pontius Laelianus, served as consul in 163.

The next governor of Syria was M.Cassius Apollinaris from 154–7, after having served as suffect consul in 150.[49] His tenure in this position is documented by a very terse inscription found in Byblos, and the dates are reconstructed by comparison with the dates of his predecessor and successor, and the dating of his consulship from known lists. Other details of his life and accomplishments are not known.

L.Attidus Cornelius was governor of Syria from 156–62, after serving as suffect consul in 151.[50] From information in the life of Marcus Aurelius and from inscriptions, it is known that L.Attidius Cornelianus commanded troops in Syria who fled from the battlefield when confronted by the Parthians. After this defeat, which has been attributed to low morale, lack of discipline, and poor military training, this legate of Syria took measures to improve the fortifications in the province, His name suggests that his origin was from Italy, and it may indicate a family relationship to a member of the priestly college who bears the same name.

M.Annius Libo (163–4; consul suffect in 161) was the successor to L. Attidius Cornelianus. However, according to the account of the life of L.Verus, Annius did not take over the province for some time after his predecessor left and even

after the co-emperor arrived there. The suggestion is made that Marcus Aurelius was concerned to have an able governor in place due to the life of revelry led by Verus. When Libo arrived, there was conflict between him and Verus; suspicion naturally fell on Verus when Libo died suddenly.[51] His family originated from Colonia Claritas Iulia Ucubi (Baetica). His father who had the same name had been consul in 126 and was a close friend of Marcus Aurelius. The family also appears to have had some connections to the Flavians (family of Vespasian). Libo's son was M.Annius Sabinus Libo, *vir clarissimus,* but there is no evidence that he was eve r consul. His son, and the grandson of Libo, was consul in 204.

Cn. Julius Verus was governor of Syria from about 164 to about 166.[52] Cn. Julius Verus's presence in the province is attested by two inscriptions. Furthermore he remained there until asked by Marcus Aurelius to help recruit two legions, known as *legio II Italica* and *III Italica* at the end of 165 AD. His military experience was wide and included service as a tribune in the suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt. He was a member of Marcus Aurelius's *amici* in the early years of that emperor's reign. Since he was the consul designate in 179 but did not serve, it has been assumed that he died in that year. His distinguished family was from Aequum in Dalmatia, and it appears that his father Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Julius Severus had been suffect consul in 127 AD.

One of the most famous governors of Syria was C.Avidius Cassius who served an unusually long term of nine years from 166 to 175 (most governors served about three years at most). The references to his term of service include passages in several historians and numerous inscriptions.[53] His name has been erased from numerous inscriptions, due to his being named *hostis publicus* and having suffered *damnatio memoriae*. However, at least a dozen inscriptions, mostly from the Hauran, preserve his name. Lucian records that he commanded the *legio III Gallica* during the fighting in Mesopotamia in 164. It is now agreed that he held the consulship in absentia in 166 because of his participation in the war against the Parthians. His service as legate of Syria was complicated by the introduction of the plague into Syria by the soldiers returning from Mesopotamia. He was a greatly trusted legate of Marcus Aurelius who seems to have authorized him to not only command troops in Syria but to also raise troops in adjacent provinces in order to free the emperor to deal with the war against the German tribes. When he was sent a false message that the emperor had died, he declared himself emperor and lasted for three months and six days until slain by his own troops. His term of office as legate of Syria ended when he was declared emperor in mid April of 175, according to a papyrus found in Egypt.

The next governor of Syria was P.Martius Verus who served from 175–8 (he had been consul suffect in 166).[54] He was one of the first to inform Marcus Aurelius about Avidius's usurpation. He had been the trusted governor of Cappadocia for ten years and was rewarded by being appointed to the governorship of Syria. Commodus was co-ruler with Marcus Aurelius in 177 and is mentioned in an inscription to Verus. P. Publius Verus took his second consulship in January 179 with Commodus so we can assume he left Syria in

178. He was one of the most outstanding people in public life, having also commanded *legio V Maedonica* during the whole war with the Parthians and having arranged for a tractable Armenian king as well. Nothing of his life during the reign under Commodus is known, and he may have died in about 190. He seems to have been from Tolosa in Gallia Narbonensis. His son P.Martius Sergius Struninus was consul in 198.

P.Helvius Pertinax was governor of Syria from 179 to 182. He had been suffect consul in 175 and was consul ordinarius II in 192.[55] According to the *SHA,* Pertinax achieved his post in Syria after having served as governor of both Moesian provinces as well as in Dacia. This has been substantiated by a military diploma found several years ago. It seems that he received his governorship of Syria from Marcus Aurelius and was there before the emperor's death on March 17, 180. Pertinax remained in Syria as governor until 182.

He was the son of the freedman Helvius Superbusin Alba Pompeia (Liguria). His wife was Flavia Titiana, the daughter of T.Flavius Claudius Sulpicius, who was suffect consul at some unknown date. Pertinax began his public career late; his father had provided him with an education which allowed him to become a teacher. In order to begin a military career, he used the influence of his father's patron, L.Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus who had been consul in 144. Pertinax was commissioned as *praefectus cohortis* in 160 in a unit stationed in Syria. He was rewarded for bravery in that campaign by promotion to the rank of *tribunus militum* in one of the British legions. He then rose through various appointments, such as procurator of Dacia, *consul suffect in absentia* in 175, and in 185 was governor of Britain. The day after Commodus's murder he was named emperor (January 1, 193) but he was murdered within three months (on March 28, 193) by the praetorians.

The next governor of Syria was C.Domitius Dexter from 183–5.[56] His presence in Syria is known from two inscriptions found in Palmyra and Soada which refer to consuls who took office in 183; one refers to the eighth year of Commodus's reign, now considered to be 184–5. Dexter's origins are unknown. It seems that he enjoyed a good relationship with Septimius Severus who bestowed numerous honors on him. They may have become friendly when Dexter was governor of Syria and Septimius Severus was legate of *legio IV Scythica*.

The next governor of Syria was C.Julius Saturninus who served from 186–7.[57] He is securely known as the governor of Syria due to six inscriptions, three of which have dates. It seems likely that he also served as gonernor of Lycia-Seleucia. Although there was another governor of both Galatia and Lycia-Pamphylia, recent studies conclude that these two men are separate individuals.

For the next governor, Asellius Aemilianus, we have the testimony of Herodian and an inscription.[58] Although the date is not known definitely, it seems he was governor from about 187 to about 190. It is certain that he was proconsul of Asia in 192–3 so a respite of a year or so between governships seems typical. His family seems to have come from Africa. Part of the difficulty in

dating arises because of the *damnatio memoriae* that he suffered due to his siding with C.Pescennius Niger against Septimius Severus. As he was the proconsul of Asia, Niger entrusted him with the command of his troops and the task of defending Asia Minor against the troops of Septimius Severus. There has been much speculation that he was not enthusiastic in his support of Niger due to his well-justified fears for his family who were condemned to death by the victorious contender for the throne. Asellianus was killed by the soldiers of Septimius Severus after their victory over Niger at the battle of Cyzicus.

The usurper C.Pescennius Niger served as governor of Syria from about 190 to 193.[59] Niger held this post until mid April 193 when he was acclaimed emperor by the soldiers in Antioch. He died about a year later in April 194 during his flight to Antioch after the battle at Issos.

His activities as governor of Syria are known only to us from Herodian who says plainly that he succeeded Asellius Aemilianus in this position. His popularity increased due to dissatisfaction with the reign of Didius Julianus and appreciation of his support of numerous spectacles. The narrative of his life in the *SHA* is considered unreliable. However, a bare reconstruction of his life would include holding several equestrian posts under Marcus Aurelius, being adlected to the Senate in the first year of Commodus's reign, and holding the consulship sometime in the mid-180s.

The founding of the Roman province of Phoenicia

Septimius Severus re-invigorated Phoenician identity, most notably by the creation of the province of Phoenicia. This restoration of an ancient regional name surely must have come from a deep pride in his own origin from the regions of Dido in Africa and his wife's indigenous roots in historic Phoenicia. This conscious summoning of the legendary splendor of the Tyrian-Carthaginian linkage, commemorated in the *Aeneid,* was displayed in a number of major projects.

In the early third century Septimius Severus and his successors built extensively in both the coastal cities of Phoenicia and the various 'Punic' cities of North Africa.[60] In particular, they ornamented Lepcis Magna which was linked with the *metropolis* of Tyre via coins and inscriptions.[61] The Severan dynasty consciously promoted the Phoenician-Roman connection by glorifying the author and the characters of the *Aeneid*. For example, coins of Tyre in the Severan period show Dido supervising the foundation of Carthage.[62] Such conscious archaizing enhanced the nobility of Severan rule by identification with both the greatest opponents the Romans had ever faced and with the victorious Romans themselves.[63]

Berytus was already the site of academic interest in the works of Virgil, as demonstrated by the career of the great grammarian M.Valerius Probus, a native of the city. Probus published commentaries on the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*. Jerome described this first-century (*floruit* 57 AD) grammarian thus: *Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur,* 'Probus the Berytian

is recognized as the most learned of the scholars at Rome.'[64] Even Augustine in his North African homeland read Virgil and wept,[65] and numerous students in the East learned Latin from reading not only Cicero but also Virgil.[66]

Baldwin has pointed out that Virgil was the most admired Latin author in the Greek East. In particular, he draws attention to the statues in the public museum in Constantinople called the Zeuxippon. In a lengthy poem of the fifth century AD in the *Greek Anthology,* the poet described the lifelike statues of not only characters unique to the *Aeneid* but of the author Virgil himself.[67]

Septimius Severus enhanced Byzantium with visible reminders of the Phoenician-Roman connection from the Virgilian legend and decorated his native city of Lepcis Magna with inscriptions which articulated this connection specifically. Such presentation of his imperial power served to ennoble his own rule and enhance the lineage of his family. The wider consequence of such propaganda must have been a strengthening of 'Phoenician' identity in the province of Phoenicia which Severus created as an administrative unit.

When Septimius Severus created the province we know as Phoenicia, the name was usually given in the Greek form of Phoenice, and is mentioned in such fourth-century sources as the minutes of the Council of Nicea (325 AD), the Council of Sardica (343–4 AD), and the Council of Constantinople (381 AD). Ammianus Marcellinus (14.8) also referred to the area as Phoenice,[68] and there are references in the *Papyrus Rylands*[69] and in the *Codex Justinianus* to the governing officials of Phoenice.[70] The *Verona List* distinguished between Phoenice and Augusta Libanensis while the *Notitia Dignitatum* distinguished between Phoenice and Phoenice Libanensis.[71] Polemius, living in fifth century Gaul, used the term Syria Phoenice, but he depended on written sources for the East rather than first-hand knowledge.[72]

Early governors of Phoenicia

The early governors from the time of Septimius Severus are known to us mainly by inscriptions. These governors resided in Tyre while the governor of the redrawn province of Syria resided in Antioch. The term *praeses* was a general term for 'governor' of any grade in the time of Diocletian, but in the time of Constantine and later, the terms *corrector, consularis, and proconsularis* were used to indicate higher grades of governor.[73]

Manilius Fuscus appears to have been the first governor of the Severan province of Syria Phoenicia. Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais has taken an inscription dated to 194 from Heliopolis to refer to him in this office for the previous year.[74] Venidius Rufus is listed as the governor in 198 AD.[75] Another governor from the reign of Septimius Severus is Domitius Leo Procillianus, perhaps for the year 207, based on a Greek inscription from Arados and on a Latin inscription from Palmyra.[76]

In the reign of Caracalla (211–17), D.Pius Cassius was governor of Phoenicia in 213 AD.[77] Rey-Coquais lists also Laberianus as a governor of Phoenicia in

Caracalla's reign, based on his intervention in the matter of a temple at Dmeir, but he is also referred to as a governor of Syria Coele.[78] No governors are known by name from the reigns of Macrinas (217–18) and of Elagalabus (218–22). From the time of Severus Alexander (222–35), Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus is known from an inscription from Bulla Regia; he was governor of Syria Coele between 225 and 235 AD.[79] Rutilius Pudens Crispinus seems to have served during the Persian war under Severus Alexander and may have been consul, most reasonably in 234–5.[80]

In the reign of Claudius II Gothicus (268–70) Salvius Theodorus was *praeses* of Phoenicia, based on an unedited inscription from Tyre.[81] After two decades, L.Artorius Pius Maximus is named in an unedited inscription from Tyre as *legatus* of Diocletian (284–305) and as *legatus Augustorum* in a dedication from Baalbek.[82]

Jalabert suggested that Aelius Statuus was the governor of Phoenicia in the period of 293–305.[83] Julius Julianus is named in several unedited inscriptions of Berytus as *vir clarissimus primus consularis provinicae Phoenices,* 'most distinguished man, the first consular of the province of Phoenicia.' Rey-Coquais would add him to the governors already listed in *PLRE I* and would place him in the period when the administration of the provinces was reorganized to install retired consuls at the head of provinces. [84]

Another Crispinus is addressed in two rulings preserved in Justinian's Code, as the *praeses Phoenices*[85] in the years 292–3. Sossianus Hierocles may have served as the governor of Phoenicia from 293–303 with the title of *praeses (Phoenices?) Libanensis*. He also seems to have held other offices and seems to have been a pagan prosecutor of Christians, while he was *Praeses Bithyniae* (303) and *Praeses Aegypti* (307).[86]

The next governor, Maximus, seems to have *been praeses Phoenices* from 309– 13. A fragmentary inscription from a milestone reads *'…ci Maximo… praeside Phoenice.'* It was set up apparently under Maximinus Daia and indicates the ongoing maintenance of the roads by the central government.[87]

Achillius I, was addressed as the *hegemon Phoenices* in a letter written to introduce Theophanes Scholasticus, the bureaucrat who was traveling from Egypt to Antioch between 317 and 324, possibly in 323.[88]

Flavius Dionysius served as governor of Phoenice, from 328–9, and was the recipient of various laws and rescripts.[89] He was an advocate and was a native of Sicily.[90] He served also as the *Consularis Syriae,* from 329–35. He also was *Comes (Consistorius)* in 335, and was in charge of the Council of Tyre as well.[91] Dionysius was influential at Constantinople in 341. He wanted to invite Libanius to settle there, but he was prevented from giving active support by illness. Libanius also notes that Dionysius had met Libanius's family when he was governor of Syria.[92]

Archelaus was *consularis (Phoenices)* in the year 335 and is called *hypatikos* by Socrates Scholasticus. It was he who discovered bishop Arsenius in hiding. He seems also to have been *Comes Orientis* in 340.[93]

Nonnus has been named as a governor of Phoenicia around 337 and then as a governor of Syria in 338. This hypothesis comes from a close reading of the *Vita Athanasii*. It has been suggested that this Nonnus presided in his role as governor of Syria at a Council held in Antioch in 338 which took action against Athanasius during the reign of Constantius.[94]

Marcellinus served as *praeses Phoenices* in 342. He may be identical to the Marcellinus who was *Comes Orientis* in 349. If he is also the same person as the Marcellinus who served on the court which tried Photinus at Sirmium in 351, he was a Christian.[95]

Apollinaris served as governor of Phoenice, from 353–4, with the title of *rector provinciae* at Tyre. Both he and his son were involved in the plot against Gallus and were subsequently executed, as Ammianus Marcellinus tells us.[96] There has been some speculation that Ammianus had trained as a lawyer, and it would be tempting to consider the posssibility that he too knew Berytus well, either as a traveler there or as a student in the schools of law and Latin.[97]

Governors known from the correspondence of Libanius

Berytus was part of the diocese of Oriens which was administered by the *comes Orientis* at Antioch. Oriens was comprised of 22 provinces, including among others, Syria I and II, Phoenicia Maritima and Libanensis, Arabia, and Palestina I, II, and III.[98] The *comes Orientis* and the governor of Syria resided at Antioch; a provincial assembly for Syria also met at Antioch.[99] Although Libanius resided in Antioch in the province of Syria, he greatly involved himself with the power structure of both provinces, partly because his income came from both.

Many of the governors of Phoenicia are known to us from the correspondence of Libanius. Several had been connected with him in some way in Antioch; many also had ties to the East, even the two provinces of Syria and Phoenicia. For over three decades (358–92 AD) Libanius corresponded with various governors of the province of Phoenicia, beginning with Demetrius who was governor of Phoenice sometime before 358. He was a wealthy native of Tarsus and a member of an important family. He was perhaps the brother of Hierocles (3) and Julianus (14).[100]

It has been suggested that the next governor of Phoenicia was Euchrostius, in 357 or 359–60. Such a hypothesis is based on the fact that Libanius asked him to assist Boethus.[101] A certain Julianus was governor of Phoenice before 360, and later he was proconsul of Asia in 360. Libanius considered him to be a good ruler. He is not to be confused with a later governor of the same name.[102]

Andronicus, who was next governor from 360–1, received a great deal of correspondence from Libanius, on matters which appear both important and trivial. In any event, the letters reveal both the interests of the Antiochene orator and the range of powers the Phoenician governor held.[103]

Andronicus was a native of Constantinople[104] and he had been a pupil of Libanius, probably at Constantinople.[105] He lived in the capital from 355–7 and

is attested there again in 359.[106] He passed through Antioch, presumably on his way to becoming governor of Pheonicia.[107] While in office in 360, he received the following letter from Libanius, on behalf of Apringius.[108] This letter is important not only for the background of the law student Apringius, but also for the information on the governor's power in increasing the number of curials in his province. It is noteworthy that the same person could be expected to perform civic duties in a provincial *boule* as well as in the Senate in Constantinople.

To Andronicus

1 'Moderation in all things', the saying goes,[109] and the proverb has been ascribed to the Pythian.[110] In improving the cities, particularly by increasing the number of the councillors, you are doing quite right.[111] But if anyone is summoned to the Senate and has become, instead of a Phoenician, something different,[112] and more exalted, do not deprive him of his status and, in your regard for your subjects, show hostility to your home city.[113] 2 So let Fraternus too be excused the civic services in Phoenicia, for he will presently have to lay out expenditure in the capital.[114] I have not yet met the man, but I regard him as my friend since he is going to be father-in-law to my friend and pupil Apringius.[115] Apringius amazed me during the period of his studies by his impeccable conduct and his desire for eloquence, and he has amazed our city by his lavishness in the performance of the choregia. 3 It would be very wrong of me not to assist this young man, and I shall be betraying him if he appears to Fraternus to be of no esteem. And he will appear of little worth if, while you have charge of the province and I have the ability to influence you, his future father-in-law should suffer injustice, for it will be thought that Apringius is despised by me, since you would never have refused me a favour. 4 Grant it then, my dearest friend—for this is a title which you appreciate more than that of governor—and by one and the same action, honour right, assist your native city, and do not dishonour this man.

In the same year (360), Andronicus received other letters from Libanius in which reference is made to his governorship.[116] In one of the letters, Libanius offers a traditional description of the beauties of Phoenicia (a *topos* in the letters of Libanius), references to purple production, and praise of the pagan temples. Note also the play on words reminiscent of the language of the aptly named New comedy poet, Phoenicides ['son of Phoenicia'].[117]

Some the judicicial duties of governors are hinted at here as well.[118]

To Andronicus[119]

1 Often, I am sure, conversation takes place between your friends and you about Phoenicia: one lavishes praise on its fertility, another on the blending of the seasons, yet another on the produce of the sea, and particularly on the production of purple dye, which people say was first

brought to light accidentally by a dog without any idea of what it was doing.[120] 2 I, however, declare that second only to the temples of the gods the finest thing in Phoenicia is the bearer.[121] He personally is devoted to them, and his understanding of religious matters is his first claim to fame. What to put second or third I hardly know, for they are all on a par with one another. 3 But the most remarkable thing is that while he occupied a governor's seat, as you do now, he mingled philosophy with government and treated the blusterers who think they are somebody with such scorn as ordinarily is reserved for the man in the street or slaves. They could not take his money away from him: that would be impossible, for he has none. If he were imprisoned, he would think that he passed his time in a meadow in paradise, and expulsion from office for him is no deprivation but the restoration of his leisure. 4 Even under the axe of the executioner, I am sure, he would utter no complaint, for unlike ordinary folk, he has no fear of death: he knows that for the just at least there is in the world below no little cause for joy.[122] 5 Well, he comes to observe and to judge your actions and, I might add, to commend them too. If you gain his vote, as you will, you will have more that redounds to your credit than you possess at present, even though what you have now is no small matter. 6 No one will contradict the verdict of Hierius, for he surpasses the ordinary person in his love for philosophy, and the philosophers themselves by saying farewell to 'beard and cloak and staff'.[123]

Libanius did not hesitate to request favors from the Phoenician governors. Such favors could range from the large to the small, as the following letter reveals.[124] Libanius is asking for Phoenician huntsmen for a civic entertainment in Antioch, in 360 AD.

To Andronicus[125]

1 My cousin is approaching the end of his liturgy.[126] The custom is for the last stages also to be the most important, at least in such a liturgy as this. With a nice appreciation of the perfect, he will devise means whereby it may be achieved in every detail of his programme, not just by putting on a show bigger than any before nor yet by presenting more wild beasts for slaughter, but also by collecting from every quarter the men to fight them, for that is to cap it with the absolute peak of perfection.[127] 2 Well, perfection in the beast shows depends mainly upon you. Phoenicia produces expert huntsmen, and if you are willing, we shall employ them; if not, we will be deficient in this respect, and people will reproach not us, for our disappointment, but the one who pays no regard to his friends, for no one is unaware of the fact that we are inviting people from there or of the person to whom we direct our request. If nothing comes of it, they will know who is responsible for that. And that will be no credit to you. 3 You love Phoenicia. I know it myself, and both land and sea know it too. But it

> is also proper for a lover of Phoenicia to allow us to do a good turn to such a great city as ours. Moreover, if they put up a first-class show by vanquishing with their skill the beasts' brute strength, the spectators in their pleasure at the performance will praise Phoenicia. 4 Do not then disdain us or dishonour her, nor yet snatch at an excuse from Modestus'[128] letters for refusing us the favour, for they have been sent by some established protocol. I place my reliance not on them but on the fact that you wish my family to be seen to be held in honour. Now, if they are sent from you, no one will be thought to have conferred this favour before you who send them. 5 My uncle ought to be alive still and now joining with me in writing to you, or rather writing to you himself—for that would have been enough: there would be nothing you would not do. But he is dead; so reflect that, though a man cannot write to you when dead, he can still rejoice even after death. You know the views of the poets on such a subject. 6 Send the men, then, and take some account of the daughters of Dionysius and Coronis.[129] To give what should not be given is wrong, but to expel the Graces completely is not something Greek.[130]

It should be noted that Constantine's edict to end gladiatorial games was posted at Berytus. This may indicate a particular popularity of the gladiatorial games here, and a subsequent diversion of talent to the animal hunts. One may note also other references in Libanius to some disturbance at the games or mimeshows in Berytus and also the reference in John Chrysostom to Phoenicia as a wild place in his letters to the missionary monks who were sent there.

Andronicus was praised for purging judicial processes of abuses and for his incorruptibility (Libanius *Or.* 62.56–7). Libanius seems to say that Andronicus has won fame by improving the water supply for Berytus, perhaps in a reference to a fountain or to an aqueduct.[131]

On leaving office Andronicus made his home in Tyre (*Or.* 62.58); he was in Phoenice in 363 when he received *Ep.* 1221 in which Phoenicia was described as the 'fairest spot in the world' when Marius was governor.[132] This same year he received *Ep.* 1378 (addressed to the former governor) and *Ep.* 1460; and in 364, he received *Ep.* 1246 and 1272.

Subsequently Andronicus served as Governor of Bithynia, Vicar of Thrace, in 365–6. Procopius the usurper appointed him to govern Bithynia, then to be vicar of Thrace (*Or.* 62.59). After the usurper's fall, he based his defense on having acted under duress, but he was executed by Valens and his property confiscated (*Or.* 62.58–60). Libanius blamed his execution on Hierius 4 (Or. 1.171). He was a pagan (*Ep.* 1460). His property holdings were small at the time of his death (*Or.* 62.59–60). He was involved in a land dispute in Phoenice (*Ep.* 1378).[133]

Aelius Claudius Dulcitius 5, was governor of Phoenice sometime before 361.[134] Libanius said that his origins were humble, his father was a fuller, and he was listed among those who had prospered under Constantius. A native of Phrygia, he became a Senator in Constantinople after being a *notarius*. He was

perhaps Vicar of Thrace before 361. Libanius refers to his love of wealth (*Or.* 62. 24). His highest office was *proconsul Asiae,* in 361–3. In the following letter Libanius solicited animals from Dulcitius who is now in Ionia after serving in Phoenicia and Thrace, on behalf of the Syriach Celsus. This letter was written while Julian was on the Persian campaign before there was news of his death.[135]

> To Dulcitius[136]
>
> 1 I am well aware that you will receive the task of protecting us with status enhanced, as was the case with Phoenicia and Thrace, and now with Ionia. Certainly the way is clear for divination and there is no harm in knowing what is to come. 2 In that case, you will make our city bigger and better with additions and adornments. As it is, you have it in your power, though so far away, to glorify one of our city councillors, and to delight the eyes of our citizens, or rather of the citizens of many places whom we have normally invited to the spectacle; and this you are able to make most popular. 3 Just listen how this is to be done. Among those who perform civic duties among us the Syriarch[137] enjoys a prestigious title for the huge amount he expends. Pactolus and the wealth of Cinyras and of Gyges are a mere nothing to him.[138] 4 He is not a governor, but he must at times turn his possessions over to the chariot drivers, or to people who walk the stage, and collect nimble huntsman and animals that can overcome all their skill, for the person who puts up the money earns praise when the hunters come in well-trained and the animals get the better of them despite that. For a bear to be beaten or a panther conquered is a criticism of the sponsor of the show.[139] 5 Well, we can expect a victory of this kind to come from your mountains,[140] for the denizens of your forests are huge, full of fight and not easily overcome. 6 So Polycarpus[141] will purchase them, but for him to buy the fiercest and not to be worsted by those who would stop him, and for him to be able to do all we wish, would depend on you, your kindness and your friendship for me, if it has not been broken. Nothing, I think, can be stronger than such ties. 7 On this matter, imagine that you are listening, first to our whole city, then to the noble Salutius, and thirdly to the good Rufinus. They too would be writing in the same vein, were it not that Salutius[142] is engaged in the invasion of Persia and Rufinus[143] is nearby in support of those so engaged. Still, they will be as grateful to you as though they had written this themselves. 8 It is right for you not to dishonour us either, whose lives are spent in the pursuit of eloquence, so that we may stay in our studies and not hanker after office with the notion that we could never get results otherwise.[144]

It has been suggested that a certain Siderius may have been governor of either Syria or Phoenice in 361, based on the appeal made by Libanius in *Ep.* 307 (361 AD) to remit a fine owed by Heliodorus and not to increase the assessment of tribute. Since the property in question was in Phoenicia (*Ep.* 454, 460), it has

been speculated that this governor was also there, although he may instead have been an official in Syria. Libanius's lack of personal acquaintance with him has been taken to support the idea that he was the governor of Phoenicia rather than Syria.[145]

Anatolius was governor of Phoenice in 361; his sons Apolinarius and Gemellus accompanied their father to this assignment. Anatolius was a native of Cilicia and had been Governor of Galatia before 361. He was in Antioch 360/1 (presumably *en route* to his province).[146] His religion is not specified. Libanius provides insights into the law cases being tried before the governor when he describes a famous case of rape by a tax-collector which occurred during the governorship of Anatolius (361). Clearly thinking of the law school, he described the province thus:

> but in Phoenicia, the most civilized region of all, under the rule of law, of appointed governors, and of an emperor [Constantius] who spends his life in arms so that all violence should disappear. [147]

Another Julianus was *consularis Phoenices* in 362. Proficient in Greek, Latin and law, and a native of Syria, he became *comes Orientis* in 364. Libanius counted on their relationship to restore his salary supplement from Phoenicia. Apparently Libanius drew half his income from Phoenicia, as confirmed in the following letter.[148]

> To Julianus [149]
>
> 1 The excellent Salutius[150] has restored me to that privilege from which that dunce Elpidius had ejected me, for that of which he outrageously deprived me, Salutius has returned to me, so putting an end to the outrage.[151] 2 Now, half of my salary I get from here: the other half he bade me have from Phoenicia. His idea was, I believe, that my business would be properly settled since you are governor of Phoenicia. 3 Please confirm the expectations of your friend.

Julianus was *consularis Phoenices* on September 3, 362. Libanius wrote to him to confirm that partial payment of his salary as a teacher of rhetoric in Antioch would be coming from Phoenicia, in accordance with the arrangement made by Salutius, Julian's *praetorian prefect,* who was in office by December 361, in succession to Elpidius (Ammianus Marcellinus 22.3.1). This was a restoration of the cut which had been made by Elpidius-Helpidius in 359/60 (*Letter* 65).

This economic dependence on the province may go a long way to explain Libanius's mixed attitude toward such places as Berytus and Tyre. The Antiochene orator clearly had to maintain cordial relations with the Phoenician governors as long as he needed them to send him financial support. Yet, as other passages make clear, he felt that many paying students were drawn away from Antioch to study law in Berytus.

Perhaps the governor whom Libanius knew best and valued most was Gaianus, Governor (consularis) of Phoenice in 362–3. He was the successor of Julianus 15. He was a native of Tyre, a pagan, and an advocate. He was Assessor to an official at Antioch, before 362. Libanius said he owed his position to a charm or magic. He received numerous letters from Libanius throughout his life, some with requests and some in praise or friendship. In 363 he passed his post to Marius, but continued to reside in Phoenicia. He was still alive in 388.[152]

Libanius flaunts his familiarity with the high officials of the province. Thus, in a letter written to a former governor (Andronicus, 360) he mentions his successor (Gaianus, 361) and the current incumbent (Marius, 363–4) who was both a Christian and an appointee of Julian.[153]

> To Andronicus[154]
>
> 1 The fairest spot in all the world is ennobled by the glories of Phoenicia, since its governor[155] is the best of men, and the next best is his assessor.

Marius I, served as Governor *(consularis)* of Phoenice from 363–4. He was a native of Antioch, a pagan, and a sophist and skilled speaker, according to Libanius. He retired in 364 and appears to have held no other high offices. The successor to Marius was Ulpianus who was Governor of Phoenice in 364. He may have been a native of Samosata in Euphratensis. He was a rhetor and an official before 362. He was Governor of Cappadocia from 361–3, prior to serving in Phoenicia. He may also have served in Arabia as a Dux and praeses in perhaps the years 363–4. His brother was Palladius, and he was perhaps identical with the Ulpianus in Libanius *Or.* 62.52, but this could be a reference to the Severan jurist, Domitius Ulpianus.[156]

Domninus was the governor *(consularis)* of Phoenice in 364–5. He was a native of Larissa, Syria. He was an Advocate before 364. His province included Heliopolis, and therefore would have been Phoenice Libanensis. He was a Senator in Constantinople before 390. He was still alive in 388, and probably was in Larissa, Syria, since the *consularis Syriae,* Lucianus, insulted him, but he died before 390. When he died, he owed a liturgy at Constantinople which fell on his son.[157]

There is a substantial gap in the correspondence of Libanius for about 24 years, with the letters preserved again from 388 onward. From the law codes we learn of Leontius who was the *consularis Phoenices* in 372[158] and of Petrus who was *consularis Phoenices* in 380.[159]

Phoenicia in the late fourth century

In the late fourth century, the designation of the province was further refined as Phoenicia Maritima (or Phoenicia Paralia), which extended from Arados in the north and to Tyre (the capital) in the south. This province did not extend deep

into the countryside except in the territory of Tyre and the southern Biqaa. Parallel to Phoenicia Maritima was the inland province of Phoenicia Libanensis[160] which included the Biqaa Valley near Baalbek, the Anti-Lebanon mountains and the steppe areas near the Syrian desert, and the major city of Damascus.[161] According to John Malalas, it was Theodosius I (379–95 AD) who separated Phoenicia Maritima (literally Phoenicia Paralia) from Phoenicia Libanensis:

> The emperor [Theodosius I] divided Phoenice Libanensis from Phoenice Maritima, and made it a province, giving the status of a metropolis and an ordinary governor to the city of Emesa.[162]

Berytus as part of the province of Phoenicia Maritima was subordinate to Tyre which continued to be the civil capital and ecclesiastical metropolis.[163] The governor of Phoenicia Maritima very likely presided over a provincial council at Tyre. The workings of such a provincial council are suggested in a rescript of Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius issued in 392 AD. The members should be honored with insignia showing their high rank, and the decrees should be published in a public place.[164]

Libanius resumed his correspondence with and about the governors of Phoenicia around 382 AD in the reign of Theodosius I. The rise of Proculus to this position is quite interesting as he was clearly a pagan. He had an important inscription carved high above Berytus to celebrate cutting a road through the mountains and also to honor his pagan leanings.[165] A native of Lycia, Proculus, who had been Governor of Palestine before 382, was Governor of Phoenice in 382–3. He went immediately from this office to be *Comes Orientis* 383–4, but he left in disgrace before the Olympia of 384. In 386 he was CSL, and PVC, in 388–92.[166]

Eustathius was perhaps Governor of Phoenice before 388. Libanius praised him as a rhetor but turned against him and attacked him subsequently. He was a native of Caria. He disliked the civil service and work as a lawyer and so he studied rhetoric in Athens. He then delivered many speeches in the cities of Phoenice and Palestine, and won the friendship of an Antiochene general. He then held three offices in which he rose from poverty to wealth. When he served as *Comes largitionum per Oriente,* he became friendly with Libanius. He is next mentioned as being in Phoenice, and it is this reference which has led to the conclusion that he may have been the governor there. Then he was Governor (consularis) of Syria in 388 and held this office for 10 months.[167]

After his retirement, he was convicted of corruption, and withdrew to his estate at Tyre where he was besieged by the Tyrians until he bought them off, as the following narrative recounts:

> So I let him [Eustathius] get on with his governing [in Syria] and make himself a millionaire, and he, after laying this foundation, built upon it, insulting me with all possible means, and even plotting my death…
>
> [274] Somehow they stripped the veil from his bribery, and all this trafficking in gold, silver, and raiment was brought to light. Part of the loot was restored to his victims, no easy matter indeed, but only after threats and a hue and a cry: the rest found its way to Tyre, to delight him in his possession of it. He went there to enjoy some repose, but once the Tyrians found him within their reach, he barely escaped a stoning. He barred his doors and began to stand a siege which he only raised after appeasing them with money and abating his insolence. In Tyre he was punished by Tyre and by Hermes, for the gods of eloquence so brought it about, greatly angered at his insolence towards eloquence, since by his reckless folly good discourse was attacked by the bad.[168]

One may compare Eustatius's desire to retreat to the estates in Tyre with a reference in Libanius's *Autobiography* to a *Comes* who had also invested in land around Tyre. Libanius says of the unnamed official that 'He was more discomfited by this than if some blight of the season had destroyed his vines in Tyre.'[169] Such a comment indicates the fertility of the soil and the cultivation of grapes for a well-known wine in Phoenicia.

The mob action of the Tyrians suggests that even if an official enjoyed imperial support, he would be held accountable for his actions by the inhabitants of the province. Libanius's reference to his enemy's punishment by Hermes and the gods of eloquence may suggest also that Eustathius was a pagan, or it may simply mean that Libanius thought his own pantheon could still wreak vengeance against those who had wronged him, in an increasingly Christianized world.

Antherius may have been a Governor of Phoenice or other high official in 388. He is referred to as *hegemon* in a letter which Libanius sent to Gaianus, the previous governor of Phoenicia in the 360s.[170]

Epiphanius was the Governor (consularis) of Phoenice in 388. Libanius asked him, as an *archon* who had passed through Antioch to his province, to help the Phoenician Sidonius.[171] It seems that Libanius had continued to act as a patron for the Phoenicians for nearly 30 years.

A third Julianus who was a native of Berytus held many important posts in the late fourth century. He was also the father-in-law of Celsinus who is mentioned below (see p. 107). In 393 he had already held several official posts and won a reputation for financial honesty in them. He had a son who in 393 successfully defended a case involving them both at Antioch.[172] Such rhetorical eloquence suggests either training as a rhetor or as a lawyer.

Although Celsinus was a vicar of unknown diocese before 388, he does not seem to have been a governor. However, he must have had considerable influence there as he lived in Berytus after marrying the daughter of Julianus (see

p.106). He served as an *assessor* and later held more than one office. He seems to have first governed a province and then become governor of several provinces, presumably as a vicar. He was interested in rhetoric, was a good orator, and had studied several speeches by Libanius.[173] Surely he also enjoyed living in a city whose culture was dominated by the presence of schools of literature and law.

A second Domitius was Governor (consularis) of Phoenice in 390 and had the power to resolve complaints at Tyre, according to the correspondence of Libanius.[174]

Severianus was Governor (consularis) of Phoenice, in 391. He is referred to in a letter to Scylacius as the person who held the power in Phoenice. He also received a letter from Libanius in 391.[175]

Leontius was Governor of Phoenice in 392. He was referred to as *archon,* and his province included Sidon.[176] Since he shares the name of the official honored in the Latin inscription of 344 and the name of the law professor mentioned in the 450s in the 'Life of Severus,' it is tempting to speculate that this was a member of a family which had gained a position of influence in not only Berytus but also in Phoenicia. He is the last governor of Phoenicia known to us from the correspondence of Libanius, and again it seems possible that he too was one of the educated elite who remained pagan in this period.[177]

Phoenicia in the fifth century

In mid-fifth century (448–50 AD) Berytus was given the title of *metropolis* by a rescript of Theodosius II and Valentinian III.

> For many just reasons we decree that Berytus, already adorned by her virtues, be crowned with the name and rank of metropolis. Therefore let her have also the metropolitan dignity. Let nothing be removed from Tyre concerning her right. Let the latter [Tyre] be 'mother of the province' by the kindness of our ancestors, and the former [Berytus] (be 'mother of the province') by ours, and let each enjoy similar rank.[178]

This shared status of *metropolis* of the province grew out of the controversies of the 'robber council' of 449 AD, but remained in effect after the dispute. In 451 AD in the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, Tyre regained the position of *metropolis,* and Berytus was permitted to retain the title as well.

> It has come to our knowledge that certain persons, contrary to the laws of the Church, having had recourse to secular powers, have by means of imperial rescripts[179] divided one Province into two, so that there are consequently two metropolitans in one province; therefore the holy Synod has decreed that for the future no such thing shall be attempted by a bishop, since he who shall undertake it shall be degraded from his rank. But

> the cities which have already been honored by imperial letters with the name of metropolis, and the bishops in charge of them, shall take the bare title, all metropolitan rights being preserved to the true Metropolis.[180]

Bishop Photius of Tyre had complained that Bishop Eustathius of Berytus had violated the rights of the church of Tyre by obtaining permission from Theodosius II to consecrate bishops in certain cities of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre (subsequently explained as Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosias, Arcas, and Antaradon). He asked that the 'Church of Tyre might again be restored to the undisturbed enjoyment of her privileges.' The appointments were allowed to stand, but the power of *metropolis* was restored to the city of Tyre in the province of Phoenicia I. The bishop of Berytus was enjoined from appealing to the rights which Theodosius had accorded him.[181] The intervention of the new emperor Marcian underlay this ruling which was favorable to Bishop Photius of Tyre and unfavorable to Bishop Eustathius of Berytus.[182]

The competition between Tyre and Berytus was resolved in Tyre's favor. However, the controversy suggests that Berytus not only enjoyed 'second city' standing in the province but also aspired to 'first place' among the cities of Phoenicia. Such a desire for improved status may have grown partly from Berytus's pre-eminence in legal studies and partly from her traditional competitiveness with Tyre.

It has been observed by many historians that as the curial class declined in its size, financial resources, and effectiveness, the imperial government extended its management of the city, and the ecclesiastical officials assumed many civic responsibilities as well.[183] The evidence from Berytus suggests that this trend is observable there as well. The longest account of urban life from Late Antique Berytus is from the 'Life of Severus,' dated to the late fifth century.[184] In the procedures followed by the citizens of Berytus in 'bringing to justice' persons accused of using magical texts to affect and/or predict the future,[185] the operative political system is revealed. To understand better the relations between four major power groups (imperial officials, ecclesiastical officials, urban citizens, and agrarian workers), the case will be presented in some detail.

A pagan named George of Thessalonike asked a scribe to copy a magical text in a *codex*.[186] The scribe reported the request to Martyrius the lector and to Polycarp, an acquaintance of the law students.[187] These men notified Severus and Zacharias who, while pursuing their legal studies at Berytus, were members of a religiously zealous group of students known as the *philoponoi*.[188] These law students reported the accusations to John the bishop of Berytus.[189] The men accused of possessing magical texts had been named before in a previous confession of John the Fuller: George of Thessalonike, Asklepiodotos of Heliopolis (Baalbek), Chrysaorios of Tralles, and Leontius a teacher of law in Berytus. Bishop John enlisted the aid of the notaries in the *officium* at Berytus to cooperate with the *philoponoi* in dealing with the accused:

> The bishop enjoined us and the members of the clergy to examine all those men's books. The imperial notaries were with us. The entire city was in a state of uproar because [the Hellenes] were spending their time studying magic books instead of applying themselves to law, and because this Leontius did great harm through his paganism.[190]

When the magic books belonging to George of Thessalonike and Asklepiodotos of Heliopolis (Baalbek) were collected by the *philoponoi* in the middle of the city, street fighting broke out. Other pagans (of uncertain social status but clearly literate) hid their books; Chrysaorios of Tralles urged some 'town hooligans'[191] to interrupt the search for the books. Then a Christian steward named Constantine offered to bring in villagers and field hands under his control from a farm in the *terrritorium* of Berytus to defend Zacharias and the clergy.[192]

> Chrysaorios raised trouble-makers against us from a group called the Poroi (?) and whom the law students call the 'companions'(?), people with notorious habits who live in arrogance. They are often murderers and do not hesitate to use the sword.[193] Because the entire demos[194] feared God, believing he would rise up against these people and had promised to help us, Constantine of Berytus, the manager of an immense estate, threatened to call in his rustics.[195]

Battle between the two sides was avoided when Leontius surrendered. The magic books were burned in a public square in front of the church of the Theotokos.[196] Bishop John obtained the cooperation of the *defensor, ekdikos,* of the city for this action.[197] He was already clearly orchestrating the actions of other city officials, clerics, and volunteer supporters like the *philoponoi* and Constantine's rustics.[198]

It is difficult to determine from this account what the role of the curial classes, that is the traditionally wealthy land-owning groups, had become in the decision-making process of the city. A clearer understanding of the status of the Berytian Constantine would clarify the role of the wealthy curial classes. If he were the trusted employee of the wealthy families, his actions might represent only a personal view or that of his employer. If he were a member of one of the wealthy families, his actions might represent the view of wealthy land-owners.

Similarly, the status of Leontius, the law professor whose actions seemed to excite or stem riots is difficult to determine precisely. He had advised apparently important personages on the outcome of their careers:

> This Leontius was a man who knew how to deceive. Instead of practicing his primary profession, he constructed horoscopes and practiced divination. He announced to all who came to him their election to office as prefects. He also aided those who had recourse to idols. The art of his trickery was so great that an important man living in Byblos [became one of his dupes].[199]

Since Leontius was being portrayed as the *bête noir* of the scandal, it is not clear if the accusations against him were valid or not. The important issues are that he clearly enjoyed the trust of people prominent enough to seek high position, that his actions could sway an urban mob to riot or to cease rioting, that he received some level of respect for his position as a law professor, that he avoided a death penalty,[200] and obtained restoration to his position after conversion to Christianity.[201] Yet there is a sense after reading the account of the 'trying' (not an actual trial) of the accused in this 'case,' that the secular civic authorities are not acting effectively in the city. Such absence of leadership may not be surprising if one considers the 'loose control' by the upper classes over the 'riot of the statues' at Antioch or the riots at Rome which the Symmachi failed to stem as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus.

So Whittow's model of a triangle of leadership in the Late Antique city of 'bishop and clergy, the major landowners (of whatever rank), and certain lay officials with financial and judicial responsibility '[202] may not hold up for the case-study of Berytus, especially if Trombley's conjecture about the actual status of Constantine the Christian Berytian, as a farm manager rather than as a land-owner, is correct. What can be substituted for Whittow's theoretical triad is a 'meritocracy' consisting of persons perceived as worthy leaders by their fellow citizens: religiously zealous law students and rustic Christians combined with church and government officials who have risen to high position by training and opportunity.[203]

Fowden, in his study of the role of the bishops in the demolition of temples in the fourth and fifth centuries,[204] concluded that the bishop increased in power from the 380s AD onward, due not only to increased government support, but also his long presence in his city. Whereas government officials, such as the Praetorian Prefect, might serve from two to five years and move about in their assigned areas, a bishop might remain for decades in one city and increase his influence by his charitable acts and other activities that his continued presence made possible. Fowden also notes that, in some situations, the bishops drew on government troops or officials for assistance. If these were not available, they might enlist 'ad hoc' troops such as monks from the nearby rural areas. Although monks are not mentioned in this account of John's actions, it is known from the story of Rabulas[205] that this same bishop was instrumental in the support of the establishment of a monastery near Berytus. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that he enjoyed a cooperative relation with these monks.

There is no evidence of an upper class of land-owners evident in this story from Berytus. The pagans, who seem to have constituted some sort of educated elite, appeared powerless to direct events in a meaningful way. A re-ordering of political power and social reward had clearly occurred from earlier times. In Berytus, books which would have been Valuable' in a previous socio-religious system were destroyed by persons who would not have held such power in the earlier urban social structure.

The governor of Phoenice in about 490 is referred to in the ‘Life of Severus,’ 84 by Zacharias. This governor was the uncle of a law student named Anastasius.[206] Thus this particular student was well-connected both socially and politically. Neither the governor nor the student seems to have had any connection with the emperor Anastasius I who ruled from 491–518. However, one may note the Monophysite leanings of many people in the city of Berytus and of the emperor.

Phoenicia in the sixth century

The name of the governor of Phoenicia in about 514 comes from Arabic text as Dâdîyânoûs and the original Latin or Greek name has been reconstructed as Tatianus. ‘The governor Dâdîyânoûs’ summoned Severus, patriarch of Antioch, to a Council at Tyre, at which Severus made a profession of faith.[207]

By the sixth century (533 AD), the emperor Justinian expressed concern about unseemly behavior on the part of the law students in Constantinople and Berytus. When he set forth the problem and his proposed solution, he also addressed the issue of the power structure in both cities. Whether these leaders were authorized to exert authority in other situations is not clear.

> Next we make a necessary order, with a very strong threat, that none of those who are engaged in legal studies, either in this most renowned *civitas* (city)[208] or in the excellent town of Berytus, is to perpetrate unworthy and most harmful—or rather, servile—jokes (the commission of which is a wrongful act) and other crimes, against either the professors themselves or their colleagues, and especially against those who are coming to study law without experience. Who indeed would call those things ‘jokes’ which give rise to offenses? We do not by any means allow such things to be done, and we lay down this part of the law also in the strictest form for our own time and hand it down to future ages, since it is proper for men’s souls to be educated first, and then their tongues. In this most generous *civitas* (city), the eminent man who is prefect of this prosperous city[209] must take care both to observe and to enforce all these ordinances, according as the nature of the offense requires in the case of both students and writers; but in the *civitas* of Berytus this task falls to the *vir clarissimus* who is governor of the Phoenician coast[210] and to the most blessed bishop of the *civitas* and the professors of law.[211]

In the city of Constantinople, it was the urban prefect who was admonished to deal with civil misbehavior. In Berytus, however, the triangle of civil administration consisted of the governor of Phoenicia Maritima, the bishop, and the law professors. There is no mention of several groups one would expect to find—the curial classes, the rich land-owners, or local civic officials. Simply put, the emperor laid the responsibility for keeping order in this particular sixth-century

city on a political appointee who may have had some troops to command, an ecclesiastical appointee with greater local allegiance, and the leading interpreters of law who may have come to dominate the social structure of the city.

This ruling may suggest that administrative power in the city had come to rest squarely on people who in one way or another were imperial appointees. The codes reveal that frequently teachers, even law professors, received state salaries. Bishops from the time of Constantine onward had received financial support of various kinds from the imperial government. Clearly, the governor of the province was on the imperial payroll. Any semblance of local administration was gone unless the people saw their leaders as local citizens who had done well rather than as outsiders sent to run their affairs.

In 535–6, the government was re-organized. In the East, the functions of the *comes Oriens* were abolished, and his title and functions were assigned to the consular of Syria. In Arabia and Phoenice Libanensis the civil governors received salary increases and the title of *moderator*.[212]

The chart which Guillou has prepared of all the current titles and salaries reveals the relative compensation of governors in the empire in gold solidi:

Praetorian prefect of Africa	7200
Prefect of Egypt	2880
Proconsul of Palestine (including his offices)	1584
Duke of Tripolitania	1582
Duke of Byzacena	1582
Duke of Numidia	1582
Duke of Mauretania	1582
Duke of Sardinia	1582
Proconsul of Cappadocia	1440
Duke of Lybia	1405 1/4
Moderator of Arabia	1080
Praetor of Pisidia	800
Praetor of Lycaonia	800
Praetor of Thrace	800
Count of Isauria	800
Moderator of Hellespont	725
Praetor of Paphlagonia	725
Moderator of Phoenicia	720
Quaestor	720
Praetor of the plebs (with his assessor)	720
Count of Armenia III	700
Consulars of Africa	448 [213]

The relatively low salary for the governor of Phoenicia may reflect either the geographical size of the province, or a lower population.

Jones's comments on the salary of the moderator of Phoenicia are important:

It will be remembered that he compensated the *primcerius* of the notaries for the *beneficium* of Phoenice Libanensis by an annual payment of 10 lb. gold, and by enjoining him to be content with this sum implied that the actual income which he derived from selling the office might be larger. The salary of the governor of Phoenice Libanensis was raised by Justinian to 10 lb. gold when he upgraded the office to the rank of *spectabilis,* and had hitherto been about half this sum.[214]

In *Edict IV,* Justinian restored an anachronistic name for the governor of Phoenicia,[215] and assigned soldiers to assist in maintaining public order and in collecting taxes.[216] John Malalas mentions the existence of *limitanei* in Armenia and Phoenice.[217]

The picture that thus emerges is of increasing imperial control at the provincial level and of diminishing power of local leaders, such as the wealthy merchants and the curial classes. Those persons who had access to salaries and prestige by imperial appointment clearly held sway in the city which seems now to be subordinate to administrators appointed to manage affairs at the provincial level. The Phoenician cities appeared to be Romanized politically, religiously, and militarily. However, later events suggest that distinctive indigenous 'ethnic' identifications would resurface and lead to new alliances in the coming centuries.[218]

Justinian's Edict 4 concerning the arrangements he has made for the governance and defense of the province of Phoenicia is somewhat difficult to understand. However, it appears that the emperor was now concerned to tighten his control over this province by both civil and military means.[219]

Edict 4 of Justinian Concerning Phoenicia[220]

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF LEBANESE PHOENICIA

The same emperor to John, Most Glorious Prefect of the Sacred Imperial Praetorians of the East for the second time, Ex-consul and Patrician.

Preface. One of our former edicts declares that no governorships shall be procured by means of a donative and we now direct that it shall be universally valid.

Chapter 1 Because of our consideration and concern for our taxpayers and for the safeguarding of their districts, we combine some administrative offices, partition others, and alter the gubernatorial pattern of still others. We have exalted some of them and honored them with titles loftier than those previously current by introducing praetors, proconsuls, moderators, and counts in excess of what formerly sufficed for our commonwealth, and we manage everything for its benefit. Therefore we also deem it necessary to transfer Lebanese Phoenicia from among the ordinary gubernatorial administrations to one of the rank termed respectable *[spectabilis],* to give it the administrative pattern of a moderator, and to assign to this

governorship subsistence allowance equaling ten pounds of gold. The moderator shall not be obliged to pay anything to the fisc for this promotion; nevertheless, the Manager of the Bureau of Phoenicia shall pay only ten pounds of gold per year from the regular tax quota of the aforesaid province to the incumbent respectable bureau chief of the most noble secretarial tribunes for the honorarium formerly paid to him, which is also termed a special grant. He shall be content with this sum alone. The moderator shall keep himself from the pollution of donatives and shall enjoy the assistance of all the other soldiers to the extent granted to him by our sacred imperial constitution.

Chapter 2 Furthermore, we are granting him a select military unit of the outstandingly courageous Dalmatians of the triple legion who are in the region of Phoenicia. Thus they shall obey him, attend him, and carry out all the orders that he shall issue for the exaction of fiscal taxes, the management of public business, and the protection of the municipalities. Inasmuch as we have ordered that warrants of office shall be issued to the governor of this province, we decree that Your Excellency, who is aware of all this, shall assign ten pounds of gold for subsistence allowances from the taxes of the province. The amounts designated for the manager of fiscal accounts to pay each year to the respectable bureau chief of the most noble secretarial tribunes shall not be diminished at all, but he shall have no supplementary amount whatever.

1 He shall diligently show a high regard, first for the fisc, secondly for the good order of the municipalities, and thirdly for justice toward private citizens, since, as stated, everything that we have written in our sacred imperial constitution with regard to the establishment of moderators and all other governors shall be applicable to him.

2 If, however, the aforesaid military unit of dedicated Dalmatians of the triple legion should be transferred to another location by our order, we shall arrange to replace them for him with another unit, so that he may not suffer any deficiency in his regular and adequate auxiliary force. The respectable duke shall have no part in the matter just mentioned. For it is against our will that he should be concerned either with the soldiery expressly furnished to the respectable moderator, or with any of his private citizens, either in judicial proceedings when they sue one another, or in event that any private citizen should be sued. We have granted him no part with private citizens, since there is a vast difference between military duty and civil government and it is necessary that these areas be distinctly separated just as the fathers of our commonwealth arranged and constituted them for us. The respectable dukes must know that if they dare to intrude themselves into civil affairs they shall not even administer military matters, and that they shall be subordinated to the civil governship. For it is our will that this office shall not be made less than that of the duke in any respect, but that it shall, as stated, devote itself with all diligence to the

exaction of fiscal taxes. It shall also devote itself to the protection of our private citizens, and shall not permit the respectable dukes, the most native noble chieftains, or any member of the powerful houses—no, not even our Sacred Imperial Patrimony, our Sacred Imperial Privy Purse, or our own Sacred Imperial Household to inflict loss of any kind on our taxpayers. These governors shall be neither remiss nor intimidated, but shall bravely govern our subjects and perform all those duties that have been prescribed for other moderators. In this manner he shall administer all the affairs of his province.

3 Furthermore, it is our will that the following provisions shall be both implemented and enforced: the subsistence allowances of the respectable duke shall be conveyed from whatever source the respectable moderator of the province may assign. It is self-evident that they shall not manage their business so carelessly that they do not exact even their own subsistence allowances. They must know that if they act in any way contrary to these regulations, they shall pay a penalty of twenty pounds of gold. Your Excellency shall implement and execute with diligent haste what we decide and declare through this sacred imperial edict.

Notes

1 This discussion of Syria owes much to Dabrowa (1998). See also Sartre (1991) and Rey-Coquais (1978d). The discussion of Phoenicia is based on the *PLRE* entries which have been attributed to Norman, the great authority on Libanius. Little has been done previously on the significance of the change from Syria to Phoenicia, although certainly I have learned a great deal from the work of Fergus Millar.

2 Dabrowa (1998) 13.

3 Dabrowa (1998) 201–2. See citations in section on the colony, pp. 46–7.

4 (L.LICINIUS) VARRO (MURENA); Strabo 16.2.20 (756); Josephus *Antiquities* 15.343–5; *Bellum Judaicum* 1.398–9; Dabrowa (1998) 17–18.

5 M.TITIUS L. f.; Josephus, *Antiquities* 16.270; Strabo 16.1.28; Dabrowa (1998) 18–20.

6 C.SENTIUS C. f. C. n. SATURNINUS; Josephus, *Antiquities* 16.280, 16.368–8, 17.6; Dabrowa (1998) 20–2.

7 P.QUINCTILIUS Sex.f. VARUS; Nicolaus of Damascus=FGrH IIA, no. 90, F 136. 6; Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.89, 17.250; Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.2, Vell. Pat. 2.117.2; BMC Phoenicia, 59, nos. 55–6; RPC, 650, no. 4535 (Berytus) IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS/P.QVINCTLLVS (sic) VVRVS (sic); Dabrowa (1998) 22–4.

8 L.CALPURNIUS PISO PONTIFEX; *AE* 1920.71; *CIL* 14.3613=*ILS* 918; Dabrowa (1998) 24–6.

9 L.VOLUSIUS Q.f.SATURNINUS; BMC Galatia, 159, nos. 60–1; Dabrowa (1998) 26–7.

10 P.SULPICIUS P.f.QUIRINIUS; Luke 2:1–2; Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.355, *Antiquities* 18.1–2; *CIL* 3.6687=*ILS* 2683 from Berytus(?); Cumont (1934); Tacitus, *Annales* 3.48.1–2; Dabrowa (1998) 27–30.

11 Q.CAECILIUS Q. f. M. n. METELLUS CRETICUS SILANUS; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.52; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.4.3, 2.43.2; BMC Galatia; Syria 20 (1939), 61, no.2=*AE* 1939.179=*IGLS* 5.2550 (near Palmyra); Dabrowa (1998) 30–2.

12 CN. CALPURNIUS Cn. f. PISO; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.43.2; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 52.6, *Caligula* 2; Dabrowa (1998) 32–4.

13 CN. SENTIUS C. f. SATURNINUS; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.74.1; *CIL* 3.6703=*IGLS* 1.164; Dabrowa (1998) 34–5.

14 L.AELIUS L. f. L. n. LAMIA; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.27.2; Dio 58.19.5; Seneca, *Epp.* 12. 89, Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.79–3; Dabrowa (1998) 35–7.

15 L.POMPONIUS L. f. FLACCUS; BMC Galatia; Suetonius, *Tib.* 42; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.150; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.27.3, Dabrowa (1998) 37–8.

16 L.VITELLIUS P. f.; Pliny, *Naturalis historia,* 15.83; Suetonius, *Vitellius.* 2.6; Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.405, 18.261; Dabrowa (1998) 38–41.

17 P.PETRONIUS P. f.; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.261; *AA* 1968, 477 coin; Dabrowa (1998) 42–3.

18 C.VIBIUS C. f. MARSUS; Josephus, *Antiquities* 19.316, 20.1; Dabrowa (1998) 44–6.

19 C.CASSIUS L. f. LONGINUS; Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.1, 15.406; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.11.3; coins; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.12.1; *Digest* 1.2.2.51–3, 7.170.; Pliny, *Epp.* 7.24.8; Dabrowa (1998) 46–9

20 UMMIDIUS C. f. Ter. DURMIUS QUADRATUS; *CIL* 10.5182, 5180; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.45.6, 12.54.5,13.8.2, 14.26.4; Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.125; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.239; *AE* 1907.194; coins; Dabrowa (1998) 49–53.

21 CN. DOMITIUS Cn. f. CORBULO; *CIL* 9.3426; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.26.2; *OGIS* 629, 11.166–8=*IGRR* 3.1056, 4 11. 54–7; Dabrowa (1998) 52–6.

22 C.CESTIUS GALLUS; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.25.3, *Hist.* 5.10.1–2; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.280, *Vita* 30, 347, 373; coins; Dabrowa (1998) 56–7.

23 See Bowersock (1973) for details of Syria under Vespasian.

24 C.LICINIUS MUCIANUS; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 4.32; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.10.1; *OGIS* 629, 11. 123–4=*IGRR* 3.1056,4, ll.10–1; coins; Dabrowa (1998) 58–60.

25 L.IUNIUS CAESENNIUS PAETUS; Josephus *Bellum Judaicum* 7.58–9, 220–1; *AE* 1907.193 (milestone near Beirut): Imp[era]/tor Ca[e]s(ar) Vespa/[sia]nus Aug (ustus) pont(ifex)/[max](imus), t[r](ibunicia) po[t]est(ate) III, p(ater)/ [p(atriae)], co (n)s(ul) IIII/[cur(ante) L(ucio) C]aesennio/[Paeto] leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro/[p]r (aetore) CCXXXIIII (January 1 to July 1, 72 AD); Dabrowa (1998) 60–2.

26 A.MARIUS CELSUS; *AE* 1903.256=*ILS* 8903=*IGLS* 1.66; Dabrowa (1998) 62–4.

27 M.ULPIUS TRAIANUS (cos suff. a. 70); father of the emperor Trajan; *ILS* 8 970; *Syria 62* (1985), 79, no. A=*SEG* 35.1483a=*AE* 1986.694; *Syria* 13 (1932), 276–7, no. 2=*AE* 1933.205; *AE* 1983.927; *AE* 1974.653; coins; Pliny, *Panegyricus.* 9.4–5, 14.1, 89.2; Dabrowa (1998) 64–8.

28 L.CEIONIUS COMMODUS (cos. a. 78); *IGRR* 3.1356; coins; Dabrowa (1998) 68–9.

29 T.ATILIUS RUFUS; *AE* 1925.95; Tacitus, *Agric.* 40.1; Dabrowa (1998) 69–70.

30 P.VALERIUS PATRUINUS; *CIL* 16.35; Dabrowa (1998) 70–1.

31 A.BUCIUS LAPPIUS MAXIMUS; *AE* 1973.588=*AE* 1977.827, *AE* 1961.319; Dabrowa (1998) 71–2.

32 C.OCTAVIUS TIDIUS TOSSIANUS L. IAVOLENUS PRISCUS; *CIL* 3.2864; *Dig,* 40.2.5; 1.2.2.53, Pliny, *Epp.* 6.15.3; Dabrowa (1998) 73–4.

33 M.CORNELIUS M. f. Gal. NIGRINUS CURIATUS MATERNUS; *CIL* 2.3783, 6013, 3788; Dabrowa (1998) 75–8.
34 A.LARCIUS A. f. Quir. PRISCUS; *AE* 1908.237; *CIL* 8.17891=*ILS* 1055; Dabrowa (1998) 78–9.
35 C.ANTIUS AULUS JULIUS A. f. Vol. QUADRATUS; *IGRR* 4.384; *Syria* 20 (1939), 53=*AE* 1939.178; *AE* 1918.130=*IGLS* 7.4010; Dabrowa (1998) 79–81.
36 A.CORNELIUS PALMA FRONTONIANUS; Dio Cassius 68.14.5; Wadd. 2296 +2297; *Ktema* (1992) 17, 139; *CIL* 6.1386=*ILS* 1023; Dabrowa (1998) 81–3.
37 L.FABIUS IUSTUS; *AE* 1940.210; *AAS* 10 (1960), 161; *ZPE* 60 (1985) 114, no. 17=*AE* 1987.952, milestones; Dabrowa (1998) 83–5.
38 C.IULIUS QUADRATUS BASSUS; *AAAS* 23, 1973, 39–40, no. 1=*AE* 1976.677 (Apamaea); *AE* 1933.201=*AE* 1934.176 (Pergamum); *CIL* III 14387d+w=*IGLS 277a+b* (Heliopolis); Dabrowa (1998) 85–8.
39 Dabrowa (1998) 87–8.
40 P.AELIUS P.f. Ser. HADRIANUS; Dio 68.33.1; 69–2.1; *SHA Hadrian* 4.6; *IG* II 2, 3286=*CIL* III 550=*ILS* 308; Dabrowa (1998) 89–90.
41 L.CATILIUS Cn. f. Clu. SEVERUS CLAUDIUS REGINUS; *SHA Hadrian* 5.9–10; *CIL* X 8291=*ILS* 1041; *ILAfr*. 43; Dabrowa (1998) 90–2.
42 C.QUINCTIUS C. f. Vel. CERTUS POBLICIUS MARCELLUS; *SEG* 15.849; *SEG* 7.135; *AE* 1934.231; Dabrowa (1998) 92–4.
43 CN.MINICIUS FAUSTINUS SEX. IULIUS SEVERUS; *CIL* 3.2850 (=9891) = *ILS* 1056 (Burnum); Dio 69.14.1–2; Dabrowa (1998) 94–6.
44 SEX. IULIUS MAIOR; *AE* 1938.137; *IG* IV, 1(2), 454; Dabrowa (1998) 97–100.
45 L.BURBULEIUS L. f. Quir. OPTATUS LIGARIANUS; *CIL* 10.6006=*ILS* 1066; Dabrowa (1998) 100–3.
46 SULPICUS IULIANUS; *ILS* 9115=*IGLS* 3.1135; Wadd. 1836=*CIL* 3.189 = *IGLS* 3.1136; Wadd. 2306=*IGRR* 3.1274; Dabrowa (1998) 103–4.
47 IGLS 3.1135.
48 M.PONTIUS M. f. Pup. LAELIANUS LARCIUS SABINUS; *IGLS* 5.2550; *CIL* 6. 41146 (= 1497+1549)=*ILS* 1094+1100 (Rome); Dabrowa (1998) 104–6.
49 M.CASSIUS APOLLINARIS; *AE* 1909.115 (Byblos); Dabrowa (1998) 106–7.
50 L.ATTIDIUS CORNELIANUS; *ILS* 9057=*CIL* 10.106 (Kazanlyk); *CIL* 3.129 (= 6658) (Admera); *SHA Marcus* 8.6; Dabrowa (1998) 107–8.
51 M.ANNIUS M. f. Gal. LIBO; *SHA Verus* 9.2; Dabrowa (1998) 109–10.
52 CN.Iulius Cn. f. VERUS; cos. suff. c. 151; II des. a. 179; *CIL* 3.199=*ILS* 5864 (Abila); *CIL* 3.2732+8774=*ILS* 1057+8974 (Aequum); Dio 55.24.4; Dabrowa (1998) 110–12.
53 C.AVIDIUS CASSIUS (cos. suff. a. 166); *SHA Avidius Cassius* 5.4–7; Dio(-Xiphilinus) 71.3.1; Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum.* 2.1.13; *AE* 1936.153 (Hebran); Wadd. 2525=*IGRR* 3.1113 (Phaena); Wadd. 2528=*IGRR* 3.1114 (Phaena); Wadd. 2237=*IGRR* 3.1270 (Basana); Wadd. 2438=*IGRR* 3.1179 (Aerita); *PAES* A,2,91, no. 155=1911.242 (Salkhad); Wadd. 2331=*IGRR* 3.1226 (Canatha); Prentice, no. 381 (Mushennef); *AE* 1937.167; Wadd. 2212= *IGRR* 3.1261; *AE* 1930.140 (Menara Henvu); *AE* 1909.131=PAES A,5,305, no. 666 (Il-Kefr); Dabrowa (1998) 113–17.
54 P.MARTIUS VERUS (cos. suff. a. 166; ord. II a. 179); Dio 71.29–2; *AE* 1895. 159=*IGRR* 1290 (Rl-Kefr); Wadd. 2071=*IGRR* 3.1195 (Shehba); Dabrowa (1998) 117–19.

55 P.HELVIUS PERTINAX; *SHA Pertinax* 2.11; BCH 21 (1897) 62, no. 70= *IGRR* 3. 1096a (Hiné); Dabrowa (1998) 119–21.

56 C.DOMITIUS DEXTER; cos. suff. a. inc.; ord. II a. 196; *Syria* 14 (1933) 164, no. 8=*AE* 1933.214 (Palmyra); Wadd. 2308=*IGRR* 3.1276 (Soada); Dabrowa (1998) 122–3.

57 C.IULIUS SATURNINUS; cos. suff. a. inc.; *JRS* 68 (1978) 68, note 332 *AE* 1978. 818 (Ghoslaniyé); *AE* 1930.141a (Menara Henvu); *CIG* 4617=Wadd. 2309 = *IGRR* 3.1277 (Soada); *CIG* 4618B = Wadd. 2309a (Soada); Wadd. 2524 =*IGRR* 3.1119 (Phaena); *IGRR* 3.1230=Brünnow, III, no. 13=*PAES,* no. 405 (Canatha); Dabrowa (123–5).

58 ASELLIUS AEMILIANUS; cos. suff.c. 180; Herodian 3.2.3–5; Wadd. 2213 = *IGRR* 3.1262 (Mushannaf-nela); Dio 75.6.4; *SHA Severus* 8.15–16; *SHA Niger* 5.7–8; Dabrowa (1998) 125–7.

59 C.PESCENNIUS NIGER; cos. suff. a. inc.; Dio 75.6.1–7.1–8.3; Herodian 2.7.4–9; 3.2.3; *SHA Didius* 5.2; *SHA Severus* 5.8; 6.7; *SHA Niger* 4.6; Dabrowa (1998) 127–8.

60 Birley (1988b); J.B.Ward-Perkins (1993); Menen (1973); Lepelley (1979–81); Marzano and Soren (1995); Mattingly and Hitchner (1995); Cherry (1998).

61 Millar (1990) 35–6 presents substantial evidence for this relationship. As an example, note the inscription from Lepcis Magna to Geta which honored *SEPTIMIA TYROS COLONIA METROPOLIS PHOENICES ET ALIARUM CIVITATUM,* 'Tyre the Septimian colony, mother-city of Phoenicia and of other cities.' Millar contends that the 'other cities' refer to the cities of North Africa. This is not a necessary conclusion as Heliopolis might be classed as a city 'founded' by the Severi (as well as Tyre) by the gift of the title *of colonia*.

62 Jidejian (1969) plate 89, showing coin issued by Tyre in the reign of Elagalabus (218–22 AD). See also G.F.Hill (1910), coin 409, p. 277. See also the coins issued by Julia Domna, discussed in Lusnia (1995), and coins of the Severan dynasty, as discussed in P.V.Hill (1964). Note the clever inversion of *Punica fides* in Starks (1999) who rightly notes that it was Aeneas, not Dido, who could not keep a promise.

63 See Baharal (1989), (1992), and (1996) for detailed studies of Severan propaganda. See McCann (1968) for a study of Severan portraiture. See also Brilliant (1967) for an analysis of the arch Septimius Severus erected in Rome (compare to those in Tyre and Berytus).

64 Jerome in his Latin version of Eusebius's *Chronika* for the year 57 AD. Schöne ed. (1866–75), *Eusebii chronicorum libri duo,* III, p. 155. Mouterde (1964) 173.

65 MacCormack (1998).

66 Dihle (1994). See L.J.Hall (1998) for the Late Antique knowledge of Cicero and (1999) for the knowledge of Virgil. See also Colt (1946); Jenkins (1985); Geiger (1996) and (1999).

67 *Anthologia Graeca; Greek Anthology* II, by Christodorus of Thebes of Egypt; Paton translation 1:57–91. See A.Cameron (1965) for a discussion of this author and other Egyptian 'wandering poets.' Baldwin (1976) 367 and Baldwin (1985).

68 See now Barnes (1998) for the possible connection of Ammianus with the provinces of Phoenicia and Syria.

69 *PRyl.* IV, p. 104, *domino suo Achillio, hegem{on} Phoineikes,* cited in A.H.M. Jones (1954), reprinted in A.H.M.Jones (1974) 269. See pp.17 and 31.

70 *Cod. Just.* 2.57.1 which refers to *Marcellino praesidi Foenice,* 'Marcellinus, the governor of Phoenice.' Citation and discussion of terms in A.H.M.Jones (1954), now reprinted in A.H.M.Jones (1974) 269.

71 See J.Ward (1974) and MacAdam (1989) for discussion of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

72 See convenient chart in A.H.M.Jones (1964) 3:398=1159. Jones also used George of Cyprus as a source. Furthermore, Jones refers also to Justinian, *Novella* 8 which lists civil governors and omits some provinces under military governors.

73 See Rey-Coquais (1978d) for information on the province of Syria as contrasted with the province of Phoenicia. See Roueché (1998) for the function of the governors in Late Antiquity. See also Prentice (1912); Liebeschuetz (1972) and (1987); and Woods (1993).

74 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 66; *IGLS* 2776.

75 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 66; no documentation given.

76 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 66, note 306; *IGLS* 4016 bis and *AE* 1969–70, 610.

77 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 66; IGLS 2918.

78 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 67, notes 313 and 314.

79 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 66, notes 299, 302, and 307.

80 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 67, note 307 bis, *AE* 1929, 158.

81 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 67.

82 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 67, note 309; *IGLS* 2771.

83 Jalabert (1908).

84 Rey-Coquais (1978d) 67, notes 311–12.

85 Crispinus 2 (*PLRE* I), *praeses Phoenices* from 292 Feb. 26 to 293 Aug. 28, based on *Cod. Just.* 7.35.4+, *Cod. Just.* 9.2.11+; 1.23.3a; 9.9.25+; 10.62.3+. The form of address in *Cod. Just.* 9.2.11 may suggest that he was a senator. See *PIR* 2, C 1587a (vol. II, p. xxii).

86 Sossianus Hierocles 4 (*PLRE* I), *v.p., praeses (Phoenices? Libanensis)* 293–303, based on two inscriptions from Palmyra and Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 16.4, Eusebius *Martyrs of Palestine* 5.3.

87 Maximus 6 (*PLRE* I); Goodchild (1949) 122.

88 Achillius I (*PLRE* I), *praeses Phoenices, hegem{on} Phoineikes PRyl* 4.623–39, p. 104; Roberts (1945) 113. See the discussion of the economy for more about this bureaucrat and the significance of his correspondence.

89 Flavius Dionysius II (*PLRE* I), Governor of Phoenice. 328–9. 328 Oct. 21, *Cod. Theod.* 9.34.4+*PP. Tyro; Cod. Theod.* 8.18.4.-329 March 14 *PP. Heliopoli; Cod. Just.* 6.9–8+. See also Athanasius *contra Arium* 78,79 which gives his full name; elsewhere just Dionysius.

90 Libanius, *Or.* 1.36.

91 *Consularis Syriae,* 329–35. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.42.3; Socrates 1.28, 31. *Comes (Consistorius)* 335. Athanasius, *contra Arium* 28a, 71a, 72a, 78–81a; Eusebius, *VC* 4.42.3=Theodoret, *HE* 1.29 (sent to Tyre); Socrates 1.28, 31 (at Tyre), Rufinus, *HE* 1.16 (misso e latere suo uno ex comitibus).

92 Libanius, *Or.* 1.36.

93 Archelaus, *consularis (Phoenices)* 335 (*PLRE* I), Socrates 1.29–2. Also *Comes Orientis* ? 340. See Rufinus, *HE* 1.17. Phot. Bib. 478b and 480a. Not mentioned in Athanasius's extensive account of Council of Tyre, and references to two councils at Tyre are in Photius only. It is possible that he did preside at a later council held at

Tyre on Athanasius's case in Constantius's reign when Rufinus dates his Council of Tyre.

94 Woods (1993) with full references to the *Vita Athanasii* in *BHG* 183 and other ancient sources.

95 Marcellinus 6 (*PLRE* I), *praeses Phoenices* 342 Jan. 23, *Cod. Just.* 2.57.1; Marcellinus 7, *Comes Orientis,* 349 Oct 3; to whom was addressed *Cod. Theod.* 12. 2.1a and 15.1.6a. Marcellinus who served on the court which tried Photinus at Sirmium in 351. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* 71; Soc. 2.30; Soz. 4.6. All these conjectures are based on *PLRE* I.

96 Apollinaris I, Governor of Phoenice (*PLRE* I), 353–4 *rector provinciae* at Tyre, father of Apollinaris 2, arrested by Gallus for treason (Ammianus 14.7.20); he and son were exiled and then murdered (Ammianus 14.9.8). See also Apollinaris 2 which gives similar details. Apollinaris 2 was the son-in-law of Domitianus who sent him to Mesopotamia to find evidence of treason by Gallus. Domitianus was murdered; Apollinaris 2 fled to Constantinople but was arrested and brought back (Ammianus 14.7.19–20). Apollinaris 2 and his father were exiled and then murdered (Ammianus 14.9–8).

97 See Barnes (1998) for this suggestion.

98 Details of the two dioceses of Oriens and Egypt are known for Justinian's time from a register compiled by George of Cyprus. For the fifth century there is the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles which seems to have been based on an official register and to have been revised, perhaps with errors, to Justinian's time. Jones (1964) 712–13; Jones (1971) 282 and 294.

99 Liebeschuetz (1972) 108–14.

100 Demetrius 2 (*PLRE* I), Lib. *Ep.* 234 (359), 24 (358). See stemma 15 in *PLRE* 1.

101 Euchrostius *(PLRE),* ?Governor of Phoenice 357 or 359–60, Lib. *Ep.* 118 (357F).

102 Julianus 11 (*PLRE* I), Governor of Phoenice before 360, Lib. *Ep.* 223. Later proconsul of Asia, 360.

103 Andronicus 3 (*PLRE* I), Governor of Phoenice 360–1.

104 Libanius Ep. 150.

105 Libanius Or. 62.56, *Ep.* 506.

106 Libanius *Ep.* 399, 416, 432, 446, 477 [= Norman (1992) *Letter* 17], 484, 506, 515 [= Norman (1992) *Letter* 21], 553, 560; for 359, *Ep.* 127.[=Norman (1992) *Letter* 58].

107 Libanius Ep. 127.

108 Libanius *Ep.* 150 F=150 W, translated in Norman (1992) as *Letter* 62, 2:38–41.

109 Translator's note a, p. 38: 'Cf Cleobulus (Diog. Laert. 1.6.6).'

110 Translator's note b, p. 38: 'Cf Plat. *Prot.* 343a-b.'

111 Translator's note c, p. 39: 'Andronicus is now (360) *consularis Phoeniciae*. Part of his brief is to recruit entrants to the curiae and to prevent desertions.'

112 Translator's note d, p. 39: 'Membership of the Senate involves the citizenship of Constantinople and the requirement to reside there.'

113 Translator's note e, p. 39: 'Andronicus was a senator and citizen of Constantinople.'

114 Translator's note f, p. 39: 'For Fraternus, *PLRE* 372. On the expenditure of newly enrolled senators, see Petit in *Ant. Class.* 26:367.'

115 Translator's note g, p. 39: 'BZLG 80, *PLRE* 86.'

116 Libanius *Ep.* 151, 153, 156 (in Phoenice), 158, 159, 166, 169, 175 refer to him as *archon;* letters on behalf of Bassus of Damascus, 183, 184 (in Phoenice), 189, 192, 198, 204, 216, 217 (in Phoenice), 221, 225 (on behalf of Heraclitus of Tyre), 230, 234 (in Phoenice), 236, and 245.

117 Libanius *Ep.* 195 F [= 195 W], translated in Norman (1992), *Letter* 67, 2:54–7.

118 Garnsey (1968); MacMullen (1964b) and (1986); Harries (1999a) and (1999b).

119 Translator's note a, p. 54: 'Introducing the philosopher Hierius, BLZG 175 (I), *PLRE* 430 (4); date 360. Ironically, he is the same "foxy Hierius" responsible for Andronicus's execution of Procopius (Or. 1.171).'This passage is translated in Norman (1992) 1:239. Andronicus's death occurred in the reign of Valens during the reign of terror described in Amm. Marc. 29.1ff., during the socalled 'conspiracy of Theodorus.' It is not unlikely that Andronicus was implicated for consulting soothsayers, as had Libanius who feared for his own safety in this period, as the passages in his *Autobiography* make clear.

120 Translator's note b, p. 55: 'A Phoenician legend, according to Pollux *Onom.* 1.45 f, suitable for narration to the governor of that province.'

121 Translator's note c, p. 55: The play on the name Hierius with *hiera,* sacred (things)'is suppressed, to be revealed in [section] 5.'

122 Translator's note d, p. 56: 'Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 82a-b, *Axioch.* 371d-e. Used by Libanius in *Letter* 71.5, *Ep.* 220.4.'

123 Translator's note e, p. 57: The three visible hallmarks of a philosopher. F[oerster] *(ad loc.)* suggested that this is not an actual quotation from comedy, but a line composed by Libanius himself reminiscent of a fragment of Phoenicides (fr.4.17 Kassel-Austin).'

124 *Ep.* 217 F [=217 W], translated in Norman (1992), *Letter* 71, 2:66–71.

125 Translator's note a, p. 66: 'F/Kr. mo. 41: Liebeschuetz, "Syriarch," *Historia* 8 (1959) 113–21.'

126 Translator's note b, pp. 66–7: 'Fatouros and Krischer disagree with Liebeschuetz' view that the liturgy is the Syriarchate rather than the Olympia. However, Libanius' cousin (name unknown) had entered upon the liturgy in 356, well after his presentation of the Olympia (*Ep.* 544). He was then looking for animals for the beast shows, the most prestigious part of his duties. Now in 360 he is coming to the end of his term (Malalas p. 285 indicates a four-year tenure of the Syriarchate), and needs huntsmen for a similar showpiece. The search for huntsmen would be expected to start far in advance, and so the fact that the Olympia is only a month or two away seems to rule it out here.'

127 Translator's note c, p. 67: 'Cf Zenobius 2.1, *Zenob.* 4:53.'

128 Translator's note d, p. 69: "The *consularis* is encouraged not to be deterred by the fact that his superior, the comes, has already been approached, and has refused. In fact, the beasts were to be reserved for games to be given by the emperor' (*Ep.* 218).

129 Translator's note e, p. 71: 'Cf. Ep.963.3; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 48.555.'

130 Translator's note f, p. 71: 'Cf. *Ep.* 221.4.'

131 *Ep.* 216, ?AD 360, Foerster, vol. 10, pp. 197–8.

132 *Ep.* 1221 F=1329 W, translated in Norman (1992), *Letter* 121, 2:229–33.

133 Andronicus 3, Governor of Phoenice 360–1, (*PLRE* I). See references in footnotes 104ff.

134 Aelius Claudius Dulcitius 5, (*PLRE* I), Governor of Phoenice before 361. Libanius *Or*. 62.11, 24; see also Libanius *Ep*. 1400=Norman (1992) *Letter* 108, 2:178–83.

135 Libanius *Ep*. 1400=Norman (1992) *Letter* 108, 2:178–83.

136 Translator's note a, p. 179: 'A letter requesting aid in the collection of beasts for the show of the Syriarch, Celsus. A similar letter is sent to Caesarius, vicar of Asia at this time. Dulcitius' career is repeated more unflatteringly in *Or*. 42.24.'

137 See Liebeschuetz (1959) for the role of the Syriarch. Translator's note b, p. 180: The title is mentioned only here and in *Letter* 119. Note that invitations are sent out to the cities for this show.'

138 Translator's note c, pp. 180–1: The reference to Pactolus and Gyges is very appropriate, however proverbial it may be, in a letter to a governor of Asia.'

139 Translator's note d, p. 181: 'After Constantine's ban on gladiatorial shows, beast chases became the most popular form of mass entertainment. The cost to the sponsors was no less, since both beasts and hunters were imported.' Cf. the references in Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* to the poor quality and maintenance of bears being kept for local shows in Thessaly of the second century AD.

140 Translator's note e, p. 181: 'Ida, in particular; cf. *Ep*. 1399.'

141 Translator's note f, p. 182: 'Celsus' agent, as in *Ep*. 1399.5. Otherwise unknown.'

142 Translator's note g, p. 182: 'Praetorian prefect. The letter is written during Julian's Persian campaign and before the news of his death.'

143 Translator's note h, p. 183: '*Comes Orientis,* then on the frontier in support of the campaign.'

144 Translator's note i, p. 183: 'It may be noted that Celsus is not mentioned by name in this letter; the prestigious title of Syriarch is enough to impress Dulcitius. Nor does the letter contain any of the classical allusions expected in correspondence between men of culture. Dulcitius is a self-made man.'

145 Siderius, ?Governor of Syria or Phoenice, 361 (*PLRE* I). Libanius *Ep.* 307 (361 AD); *Ep.* 454 and 460.

146 Anatolius 4, Governor of Phoenice 361 (*PLRE* I). Libanius *Ep.* 233; 304; 371; 674; *Ep.* 636 (in Phoenice) [=551 W], translated in Norman (1992), *Letter* 77, 2:80–7. Libanius *Ep.* 637; 640, 641, 652 (in Phoenice); also Lib. *Ep.* 295, 303, 695. All dated to 361. He had three sons. Apolinarius 2 and Gemellus 2 (cf. Libanius *Ep.* 303 with 304, 636 with 637) and a third, probably Anatolius 9 (cf. Libanius *Ep.* 966 with 1023); his sons are mentioned in Libanius *Ep.* 211 (360). From Apolinarius 2, we learn that Apolinarius 2 and Gemellus accompanied their father to Phoenice Libanius *Ep.* 307, 637. Two sons jointly received Libanius *Ep.* 233, 304, 637, 806, 966, 1541 dated from 360 to 390. Gemellus alone received Libanius *Ep.* 1056 (AD 392), 1096, 1108 (AD 393) presumably after Apolinarius died. More details under the three sons. [Gemellus was PVC AD 404/8 and received John Chrysostom *Ep.* 79, 124, 132, 194, (all 404/8).]

147 Libanius *Ep.* 77, English translation in Norman (1992) 2:81.

148 Julianus 15 (*PLRE* I), *consularis Phoenices* 362 Sept. 3 *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.52a; Libanius *Ep.740,* 1296; he was proficient in Greek, Latin and law, *Ep.* 668, 1296; native of Syria, *Ep.* 1296. He became *comes Orientis* in 364.

149 Libanius *Ep.* 740F [=652 W] AD 362; translated in Norman (1992) *Letter* 89, 2: 116–19. Translator's note a, p. 116: 'BLZG 191 (vii), *PLRE* 472 (15); a close friend of Libanius, he was in office as *consularis Phoenices* by 3 Sept. 362.'

150 Translator's note b, pp. 116–17: 'BLZG 265, *PLRE* 814 (Secundus 3), Julian's *praetorian prefect,* in office by Dec. 361, in succession to Elpidius (Amm. Marc. 22.3.1).'

151 Translator's note c, p 117: 'In 359/60 Elpidius-Helpidius (BLZG 168) 4 *(PLRE* 414)—had cancelled part of Libanius' subvention paid in kind (*Ep*. 65). This was now restored by authority of Salutius, half to be remitted from Phoenicia and half from Syria *(entautha)*—not Constantinople, as Petit (*Vie Municipale* 409). On Libanius's wealth and its sources, cf. Petit, App. 3.'

152 Gaianus 6 (*PLRE* I), Governor (consularis) of Phoenice 362–3. Successor of Julianus 15. Advocate, received Libanius *Ep.* 119, and *Ep.* 336 (native of Tyre) in 357 or 358, which marks beginning of Libanius's correspondence with him. Assessor to an official at Antioch, before 362, as mentioned in Libanius *Ep.* 780 (362) and 799 (363). Governor (consularis) of Phoenice 362–3. Received in office Libanius *Ep.* 780 (362), 799, 800 (362–3), 828 (363), 1355 (363), 1364 (363), 1375, 1422; he is mentioned in *Ep.* 1221 and 1378 (363). Retired in 363, and received *Ep.* 1218, 1461 (both 363), 1247, 1270 (both 364). His administration was praised in *Ep.* 799 and 1461. A Phoenician Libanius *Ep.* 799=W 709, pp. 339–40, a pagan (Libanius *Ep* 1364) who had studied in Phoenicia, most reasonably in Berytus, according to Collinet. He was still alive in 388, *Ep.* 881. See Collinet (1925) 87–8.

153 Marius I (*PLRE* I), Governor *(consularis)* of Phoenice 363–4 [successor of Gaianus 6] under Emperor Jovian, 363–4. Native of Antioch Libanius *Ep.* 1142, 1217, 1269, 1460; sophist and skilled speaker Libanius *Ep.* 1361, 1124, 1269, 1461; Governor of Phoenice, 363–4. successor of Gaianus 6, Lib. *Ep.* 1218, 1416 (both written in 363). In office in 363, Lib. *Ep.* 1221, 1460; in 364, Lib. *Ep.* 1170, 1208. Retired in 364, Lib. *Ep.* 1217, 1269. Succeeded by Ulpianus 3, Lib. *Ep.* 1219. Received in office, Lib. *Ep.* 1124, 1135, 1142, 1170, 1208; after retiring, received Libanius *Ep.* 1217, 1269 (he is in Beroea), 1288 (Autumn 364, has not yet reached Antioch). He is a pagan, Libanius *Ep.* 1460. His administration was praised in Lib. *Ep.* 1135, 1217, 1269.

154 Translator's note a, p. 228: 'F/Fr. no. 78. Andronicus is now in retirement in Phoenicia' [Tyre].

155 Translator's note b, p. 229: 'Marius, BLZG 204, *PLRE* 561 (1). The name of his assessor, the bearer of the letter, is not known.'

156 Ulpianus 3, Governor of Phoenice 364, (*PLRE* I). ?Native of Samosata in Euphratensis. Libanius *Ep.* 689. Rhetor Libanius *Ep.* 689, and *Ep.* 1236. Official before 362. Libanius *Ep.* 670 (361). Governor of Cappadocia, 361–3. Libanius *Ep.* 1438, 1155, 670, 689. Governor of Arabia (?Dux and praeses) (?363-) 364. Libanius *Ep.* 1127, 1133, 1155, 1236. He received Libanius *Ep.* 1206 when in office either in Arabia or in Phoenice. Governor (?consularis) of Phoenice 364 [successor of Marius I]. Libanius *Ep.* 1219 (364), cf. 1218, Libanius *Ep.* 1236 (364). He received Libanius *Ep.* 1273 (for a Phoenician), 1276, 1281, 1282, 1285, 1289, 1302 (all in 364). His brother was Palladius 18, Libanius *Ep.* 689, 1133, 1438. Perhaps identical with the Ulpianus in Lib. *Or.* 62.52, but this could be a reference to the Severan jurist, Domitius Ulpianus.

157 Domninus 2, Governor (consularis) of Phoenice 364–5 (*PLRE* I). Domnio, Libanius *Ep.* 1145; Domninus elsewhere. Native of Larissa, Syria, Libanius *Ep.* 952, *Or.* 56.11. Advocate before 364, *Or.* 56.11; Libanius *Ep.* 952. Governor (consularis) of Phoenice 364–5. Libanius *Ep.* 1145, 1255 (364), 1337, 1530 (365).

In 388, praised in *Or.* 56.11. His province included Heliopolis, and therefore would have been Phoenice Libanensis. Libanius *Ep.* 1255 with *Ep.* 1256 (to Alexander 5 of Heliopolis). Probably successor of Ulpianus 3. Senator of Constantinople before 390, Libanius *Ep.* 952 (written in 390). Still alive in 388, and probably in Larissa, Syria, since the *consularis Syriae* Lucianus insulted him, but he died before 390. When he died, he owed a liturgy at Constantinople which fell on his son (? Domninus 4) Libanius *Ep.* 952–3.

158 Leontius 12, *consularis Phoenices* in 372, June, 30 (*PLRE* I), *Cod. Theod.* 13.1.9a.

159 Petrus 2, *consularis Phoenices* 380 May, 14 (*PLRE* I), *scripta Petro consulari Phoenices Damasco,* subscript *Cod. Theod.* 7.22.9, and 12.1.83.

160 References to the governors of Phoenicia Libanensis, Arabia, and Palestina in A.H.M.Jones (1964) 280–1 and 398–9 with citations to the legal codes.

161 Devreesse (1945) 193–201; Kennedy (1985b) 168–9

162 Malalas 345 in *PG* 97.513–5. Translation by Jeffreys, Jeffreys and Scott, p. 187.

163 See A.H.M.Jones (1964) 373–4 and A.H.M.Jones (1971) 540–7, tables XXVIII-XLI.

164 *Cod. Theod.* 12.12.12, July 28, 392 AD; Pharr translation, p. 381.

165 See discussion on paganism for full discussion and presentation of the inscription. Greek text in Hajjar (1990a) 2506; Paine (1873) 112; Weissbach (1922) 38–41; Mouterde (1932) 14; *SEG* VII.195.

166 Proculus 6, Governor of Phoenice 382–3 *(PLRE),* Eunapius fr. 59, Zos. 4.45.1, 52. 1–4; cf. Libanius *Or.* 46.8, 56.16, *Ep.* 840 [= Norman (1992) *Letter* 146, 2:302–9], 851, 970. Governor of Palestine before 382, Libanius *Or.* 42.41. Governor of Phoenice, 382–3, Libanius *Or.* 42.41–2, which refers to both offices. *Comes Orientis* 383–4, 383s (MSS 382) March 8, *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.90a; 383 June 11, *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.22+; 383 July 6, *Cod. Theod.* 8.4.14a; 383 July 27, *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.103a; Libanius *Or.* 42.34; Libanius Or. 1.221–2. *Ep.* 852= Norman (1992) *Letter* 149, 2:312–5; Or. 1.221, 222 [see Norman (1992), vol. 1], 26.30, 27.13, 29. 10, 46.8; Or. 1.223 [see Norman (1992), vol. 1], 26.2 ff.; Or. 26.20–3; CSL, 386: 386 May 7, *Cod. Theod.* 6.30.11a la, given at Constantinople; PVC, 388–92. Executed.

167 Eustathius 6, ?Governor of Phoenice before 388 (*PLRE* I). Libanius *Or.* 44; *Or.* 54. Libanius *Or.* 1.271–4=Norman (1992) *Autobiography*, vol. 1, pp. 321–6; Or. 1. 274.

168 Translator’s note b, p. 325: ‘Eustathius, dismissed under a cloud, retires to his estates in Tyre, where the curia seeks financial redress, probably by an action for extortion in respect of earleir misdeeds as governor of Phoenicia (Or.54.4, so Petit). His insults to Libanius in his professional capacity (*Or.* 54.75ff.) induce the reference to Hermes and the *logioi theoi.’* Oration 1.273–4=Norman (1992) *Autobiography,* vol. 1, pp. 324–6.

169 Libanius *Or.* 1.265, translated in Norman (1992) 1:317. The author adds in note b, p. 317: ‘The *Comes,* like the *consularis* Eustathius (1.274 below); *Or.* 54.18) had invested in the vineyards of Tyre: “mothers of wine” (Eur. *Alc.* 757; Aesch. *Pers.* 614).’

170 Antherius, ?Governor of Phoenice, 388 (*PLRE* I). *Ep.* 881, to Antherius for Gaianus 6 of Tyre.

171 Epiphanius 2, Governor (consularis) of Phoenice, 388 (*PLRE* I). *Archon* who passed through Antioch to his province, Libanius asked him to help the Phoenician Sidonius. Libanius *Ep.* 913; cf. Libanius *Ep.* 1046.

172 Julianus 20 (*PLRE* I). Late fourth century, held several posts. Native of Berytus, Libanius *Ep.* 877. Father-in-law of Celsinus 3, Libanius *Ep.* 877, 911, 949. In 393 he had already held several official posts and won a reputation for financial honesty in them. Libanius *Ep.* 1083. He had a son who in 393 successfully defended a case involving them both at Antioch Libanius *Ep.* 1083 (AD 393). He received Libanius *Ep.* 949, 1083; he was mentioned in Libanius Ep. 877, 911, 983.

173 Celsinus 3, ?vicar (of unknown diocese), before 388 (*PLRE* I). Libanius *Ep.* 877, 911, 949. He served as an *assessor* and later held more than one A Lib. *Ep.* 911 (AD 388). Libanius *Ep.* 949 (AD 390).

174 Domitius 2, Governor (consularis) of Phoenice 390 (*PLRE* I). Libanius *Ep.* 968.

175 Severianus 7, Governor (consularis) of Phoenice, 391 (*PLRE* I). He held power in Phoenice, Libanius *Ep.* 998 (390, written to Scylacius, living in Phoenice, cf. *Ep.* 1220, 1271, 1431, to Scylacius (2); received in office, *Ep.* 999 (391).

176 Leontius 14, Governor of Phoenice 392 (*PLRE* I). ΔΩυ, his province included Sidon. Libanius *Ep.* 1046.

177 Bowersock (1990).

178

> Propter multas iustasque causas metropolitano nomine ac dignitate Berytum decernimus exornandam iam suis virtutibus coronatam. Igitur haec quoque metropolitanam habeat dignitatem. Tyro nihil de iure suo derogatur. Sit illa mater provinciae maiorum nostrorum beneficio, haec nostro, et utraque dignitate simili perfruatur.
>
> *Cod. Just.* 11.22.1 *De metropoli Beryto. Impp. Theodosius et Valentinianus A.A.Hormisdae pp.* Millar (1983b) 63.

179 A reference to the rescript given above, See Fowden (1978) for a clear discussion of the relation between ecclesiastical and civil organization. See Liebeschuetz (1987) for general discussion of Late Roman administrative organization.

180 Mansi VII 79–98; translation in Schaff and Wace (1890), pp. 276–7.

181 Minutes of the fourth session, October 20, 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, as summarized in Hefele (1883) 3:340–2; based on Mansi VII, 79–98. See Chapter 8 on religion for fuller discussion.

182 See section on the churches and bishops of Berytus (pp. 171–82), for further discussion.

183 A.H.M.Jones (1964). Liebeschuetz (1972) and (1992). Whittow (1990) has a very clear statement of the evolution of the administration of the cities of the Greek East from the classical curial system to a system strongly affected by changes in the imperial and ecclesiastical hierarchies in Late Antiquity. Whittow's ability to discuss such changes without bias towards the earlier system is refreshing and necessary.

184 Zacharias of Mytilene, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique,* edited and translated by M.-A.Kugener; commentary and partial English translations are available in Trombley (1993) 2:1–51; and Young (1990).

185 See Chapter 8 on religion for details of the charges and citations to sources.

186 This is a suggestion that the text was quite lengthy. See Gager (1992) for discussion and bibliography concerning such texts.

187 Polycarp was among the *philoponoi* who discovered magical texts at the house of John the Fuller in a previous incident. See Chapter 8 on religion, Trombley (1993) 2:35, and *Vie de Sévère* 59.

188 Trombley (1993) 2:1–51 has excellent discussion of this term which means 'zealous of effort.' The political consequences of religious fervor as directed by student leaders has no stronger parallel than Iran in the late 1970s.

189 See John of Berytus's Easter sermon, Aubineau translation.

190 Trombley (1993) 2:39 translating *Vie de Sévère* 66.

191 Trombley (1993) 2:39 uses this term in his discussion.

192 Trombley (1993) 2:39–40, especially n. 194, has the following important comment based on his translation from the Syriac text of the *Vie de Sévère:* 'I have taken issue with Kugener's translation, line with A.H.M.Jones' discussion of the management of estates, the key word being *parnasa,* which has the sense of "steward," "manager" *(oikonomos)* or "guardian" rather than "owner." Cf. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire,* 781–95. The Syriac word for "estate," *usiya* is simply the Greek *ousia* taken as a loan word. Similarly, the word for "rustics" used here is *quraye* from the Greek *chorikoi*.'

193 The question marks go back to Kugener who calls this a difficult passage. Such youthful 'gangs' appear in the literature of other cities, especially in the medieval periods. Compare to similar groups in Damascus of a somewhat later period which were described in the primary sources studied in Lapidus (1967).

194 See Gregory (1973) for an excellent study of the meaning of the term *demos* in Late Antique writers such as Zosimus. The "people" of Berytus appear to have been led by government officials and church officials and to have divided into opposing sides (rural and urban Christians versus urban pagans). See also Gregory (1979) *passim* for comparable disturbances in Ephesus, Constantinople, and Alexandria.

195 Trombley (1993) 2:39–40, translating *Vie de Sévèere* 68.

196 With the increasing linkage of the church and the government, perhaps other 'official' activities were carried out in the churches or near them. See Miller (2000) for the bishop's palace and Lavan (2001c) for the *praetoria* of the Late Antique governors.

197 Lenski (2001) for the role of the bishop's *audientia* and Harries (2001) for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

198 Trombley (1993) 2:40; *Vie de Sévère* 68.

199 Trombley (1993) 2:39; *Vie de Sévère* 66–7.

200 Compare the outcome of divination trials in Antioch as recorded in Ammianus Marcellinus 29. See Matthews (1989b) 217–30 and MacMullen (1989).

201 See Chapter 8 on religion; Trombley (1993) 2:40, 44; *Vie de Sévère* 73.

202 Whittow (1990) 12. Whittow has convincing 'anecdotes' from other cities of the Greek East which certainly seem to support his hypothesis. It may, in fact, apply to Berytus in broad outline.

203 The pages of both Ammianus and Libanius are full of references to employees who rose through the bureaucracy by training in language and legal skills; Norman (1958a) has some convenient references. John Lydus, *On Powers* reflects the same

social advancement by bureaucratic diligence. Hagiographic accounts reflect the possibility of rising to positions in the church through education and dedication.

204 Fowden (1978).

205 See section on conversion in Chapter 8 on religion.

206 Anonymous 82, Governor of Phoenice, *c.* 490 (*PLRE* II). Uncle of Anastasius 3; he was governor of Phoenice. Zach. *Vie de Sévère,* 84. See Anastasius 3, a law student from Edessa with Severus, etc.

207 32) Dâdîyânoûs (?Tatianus) ?Governor of Phoenice ?514 (*PLRE* II). The governor Dâdîyânoûs' summoned Severus, patriarch of Antioch, to a Council at Tyre, at which Severus made a profession of faith; PO 2, pp. 397–9 (two Arabic texts). The Council may be one held in *c.* 514; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II, 173, n. 2. Dâdîyânoûs (? Dadianus, perhps Tatianus) was apparently the governor of Phoenice, of which Tyre was the metropolis [sic].

208 Constantinople.

209 Prefect of the city of Constantinople.

210 *Poenica maritima* is probably the name of the province, not a geographical description of the coast.

211

> Illud vero satis necessarium constitutum cum summa interminatione edicimus, ut nemo audeat neque in hac splendissima civitate neque in Berytiensium pulcherrimo oppido ex his, qui legitima peragunt studia, indignos et pessimos, immo magis serviles et quorum effectus iniuria est ludos exercere et alia crimina vel in ipsos professores vel in socios suos et maxime in eos, qui rudes ad recitationem legum perveniunt, perpetrare. quis enim ludos appellet eos, ex quibus crimina oriuntur? hoc etenim fieri nullo patimur modo, sed optimo ordini in nostris temporibus et hanc partem tradimus et toto postero transmittimus saeculo, cum oportet prius animas et postea linguas fieri eruditos. Et haec omnia in hac quidem florentissima civitate vir excelsus praefectus huius almae urbis tam observare quam vindicare, prout delicti tam iuvenum quam scriptorum qualitas exegerit, curae habebit; in Berytiensium autem civitate tam vir clarissimus praeses Poenicae maritimae quam beatissimus eiusdem civitatis episcopus et legum professores.
>
> *Digest Constitutio Omnis* 9–10. Latin text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) liii–liv, s.v. The Whole Body of Law.'

212 A.H.M.Jones (1964) 281.

213 Composite list in Guillou (1997) 214–5, with remark about reducing extortion. Documentation would seem to come from A.H.M.Jones (1964) 1125, notes 26–8.

214 Justinian *Ed.* IV, cited in A.H.M.Jones (1964) 1158, note 60.

215 *Novel* 28.2 explains that the title 'Moderator' is an ancient name and one befitting Roman nobility. I am endebted to Wolf Liebeschuetz for this reference and explanation.

216 Troops were stationed in Late Antique Phoenicia by both Anastasios and Justinian. In Phoenice Libenensis, Anastasios placed the Tertio-Dalmatiae, a vexillation of the regional field army of the Orient, at the permanent disposal of the civil

government, and stationed at Palmyra a regular regiment to reinforce the *limitanei*. A.H.M.Jones notes that Justinian included in the *Code* large sections of the constitutions of 445. A.H.M.Jones (1964) 661, and 1274, notes 124 and 125. Justinian, *Ed.* iv. 2, and *Not. Dig. Or.* vii. 2.

217 Malalas 426. See Casey (1996) for Justinian's use of the *limitanei*.

218 Pentz (1992).

219 Leriche (1989); Isaac (1998); Liebeschuetz (1977); D.L. Kennedy (1996); D.L. Kennedy and Riley (1990); and Mouterde and Poidebard (1945).

220 Thurman (1964) 7–10.

7
PAGANISM AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Paganism and cultural identification in Classical Berytus

Phoenician, Greek, and Roman names are ascribed to the gods and goddesses of Berytus. Of course, logic would suggest that first there was Phoenician religion, then Greek, then Roman in a chronology tied to political ascendancy. However, a close inspection of paganism in Berytus suggests a blend that is not just syncretism (a Phoenician god = a Greek god = a Roman god) but a system of co-existence instead.[1] That is, at any given time, individual gods from the three cultures may predominate without necessarily being equated to a god from another culture.[2] Also, it appears that gods from the three cultures can be understood in their own pantheons without being renamed in another belief system.

For example, the tutelary god of Berytus was continuously Poseidon.[3] Although this Greek god has been 'syncretized' by some scholars with the Phoenician Baal Berit (really a name for the god who was 'Lord of Beruta') and the Roman Neptune, the deity known as Poseidon persisted through time. Further, the characteristics of Baal Berit and Neptune might have been seen as distinct from those of Poseidon by the residents of Berytus. The numismatic and literary evidence supporting this interpretation will be presented below.

The adherence to the cult of Poseidon by Berytian merchants who called themselves the *Poseidonistes*[4] has been substantiated by the discovery of a worship site in Delos in the second century BC. The worshippers refer to themselves thus: 'the association of Berytians, the Poseidonists: merchants, ship-owners, and forwarding agents (or warehousemen).'[5] Picard suggested that the organization served both religious and civic purposes and was modeled on the *Héracléistes* of Tyre.[6] They had a priest and three buildings dedicated to Poseidon. A fourth building was later built to honor Apollo, the tutelary god of Delos. Their chief function as an organization on Delos seemed to be to hold meetings, *synodoi,* and especially the feast of Posideia which honored Poseidon.[7] The identification with Poseidon by the Berytians who were away from Berytus suggests how firm this religious attachment was; that is, it was not a cult which could only flourish in the place of one's birth or residence.

Poseidon was the figure most frequently represented on the coins issued by the city council of Berytus up until the third century AD.[8] The god of the sea was represented with hippocamps, dolphins, with his foot on a prow of a ship, and holding a trident.[9] These coins bear representations which echo the portrayal of Baal Berit, the patron deity of Berytus on its Phoenician coinage.[10] A coin from the reign of Macrinus shows a temple with six columns and a pediment (containing an unidentified object) with acroteria. Steps lead up to the temple; inside the temple is a nude figure of Poseidon, with his right foot on a rock. He is holding a dolphin in his right hand and a trident in his left hand.[11]

'Roman' religion of the *Colonia Augusta*

When Berytus became a Roman city, the colonists apparently imported their Roman religion with them.[12] A significant number of Latin inscriptions to Roman gods has been found both in Berytus itself and at Deir el Qalaa,[13] a site about seven miles from Berytus. The site of Deir el Qalaa which rises 2200 feet above sea level,[14] is an example of a Phoenician 'high place,' that is, an elevated center of cultic practice within the territory of the city.[15] The ruins of a temple complex to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, dated to the first or second century, have been built over by a Maronite monastery; many important inscriptions were preserved by the re-use of the stones.[16]

Because the columns at the temple of Deir el Qalaa[17] are of the same enormous proportions as those of the temple to Jupiter at Heliopolis[18] and because many of the inscriptions are addressed to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus (IOMH), the assumption has been made that the worship of the same god(s) was carried on at the sanctuary site for Berytus and at Heliopolis.[19] The 'shared' nature of the worship of IOMH at the two places has been attributed to the fact that Heliopolis-Baalbek was once part of the *territorium* of Berytus.[20]

Yet another interpretation has been given to the sacred site of Deir el Qalaa in light of the colonial foundation of Berytus. It has been suggested that the monumentality of the temple on an elevated citadel and the use of Latin in the inscriptions result from a conscious effort by the Roman soldiers settled there to imitate the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline in Rome. This emulation of Roman religion has been interpreted as an expression of Roman identity by the veterans far from Rome. Many of the deities commemorated in the inscriptions at Deir el Qalaa have been specifically identified with tutelary gods of Rome, such as Venus Domina and Mercurius Dominus, Venus, Mercurius, Apollo, Diana, Mars, possibly Ceres, Proserpina, Fortuna of the Colonia, Fata, and especially Mater Matuta, a little-known deity whose temple stood in the Forum Boarium in Rome.[21]

The pre-eminence of Jupiter,[22] Juno, Mercury, Venus and other 'Roman' gods in the pagan pantheon of Berytus and Deir el Qalaa is attested by the numerous inscriptions to these divinities in the Severan era and earlier. The inscriptions from Deir el Qalaa are sometimes grouped in a 'triad' of Jupiter, Juno, and

Mercury, or to some other combination of gods and goddesses.[23] In Berytus itself there have been found eleven inscriptions to IOMH (Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus)[24] as well as several to other 'Roman' gods. An example of these Latin inscriptions to 'Roman' gods was found in the center of Beirut and is now in the National Museum of Beirut.[25]

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) [H(eliopolitano)]
Veneri, Mercurio,
Apollini, Deanae,
Marti Sergit(ensi), Proserpinae,
Fortunae col(oniae), Fatis
Q(uintus) Clodius .A..S
SV------------
-----MER-----

To Jupiter Best Greatest of Heliopolis,
To Venus, to Mercury, to Apollo, to Diana,
To Mars of Ser'îtâ, to Proserpina,
To the Fortune of the colony, to the Fates,
Quintus Clodius…[26]

Although many of these inscriptions in and near Berytus are in a single language, the following inscription, found at Deir el Qalaa,[27] has been studied closely for its seeming syncretism of Roman, Greek, and Phoenician cosmography.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) B(al)
e(t) I(unoni) R(eginae)
e(t) I(unoni) S(imae) e(t) C(aelesti)
s(acrum) Q(uintus) A(ncharenus) Eu(tyches)
v(otum) l(ibens) a(nimo) s(olvit)

Θεῷ ἁγίῳ Βαλ
καὶ θεᾷ Ἥρα καὶ θε(.)
Σίμα καὶ Νεωτέρα
Ἥρα Κ. Ἀνχαρη-
νὸς Εὐτυχὴς χαλ-
νὸς Εὐτυχὴς χαλ-
χουργος καὶ ΟΜ[.]
[ ] .. ΧΠΑΥ [ ]

(Latin) To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Baal and Juno Regina and Juno Sima and Celestis, Quintus Ancharenus Eutyches, willing in spirit, fulfilled a sacred vow.

> (Greek) To the Holy God Baal and the Goddess Hera and the Goddess Sima and the Younger Hera, Quintus Ancharenos Eutyches the bronzeworker and…[28]

In this inscription, Jupiter Optimus Maximus has been given the epithet of 'Baal'[29] which refers to ancient Phoenician beliefs known to us not only from the Old Testament references but also from numerous Near Eastern religious writings and inscriptions.[30] In addition to Juno-Hera, the other female deities have been identified as Sima and the Younger Hera, whom Milik suggests is the same as Venus Celestis, Aphrodite Ourania, or Aštarte Šamêm (Rûmêm).[31] The worshipper, using both Greek (in full) and Latin (abbreviated) has syncretized deities from three cultures.

Additional evidence for the popularity of Aphrodite comes from the coins which suggest that there was a temple to this goddess in Berytus. Because these coins have been identified by iconography and not by inscription, the exact name given to the goddess is difficult to ascertain. However, there is literary evidence for the equating of Astarte to Aphrodite[32] and of Venus to Aphrodite.[33] Yet it is clear that these goddesses had different aspects in their separate pantheons. It is quite likely that individual worshippers might choose to call upon this goddess of love' in the particular language of the worshipper and would not necessarily syncretize the systems of belief.

The numismatic evidence from Berytus suggests that the city was particularly known for a temple to Aphrodite (perhaps equated to Astarte or Venus).[34] The city coinage of Berytus from the time of Trajan,[35] Commodus,[36] Julia Domna,[37] Caracalla,[38] Macrinus,[39] Diadumenian,[40] Elagabalus,[41] and Valerianus Senior[42] suggests that this temple was considered a prominent landmark of Berytus. The temple is regularly represented with four columns and a pediment with a round shield; the statue of the goddess identified as Astarte-Aphrodite-Venus is shown within. Wearing a turreted crown, she raises her dress with her left hand on her knee and rests her right hand on a standard. Her left foot rests on a ship prow. To the right is a column with a Nike crowning the [43] From the time of Macrinus onward, the coins suggest that the temple of Astarte—Aphrodite was ornamented further. These coins of Macrinus[44] and Gordion III[45] show the same temple; now the acroteria shows Poseidon and Beroe who are each flanked by a Nike holding a wreath with both hands.

Artistic evidence reveals the wide popularity of these deities—especially Aphrodite-Venus and Zeus-Jupiter—in the statuary and mosaics commissioned by the well-to-do citizens of Berytus. Art in many ways reveals not only the identity of the god(s) worshipped but also the aspirations of the worshippers.[46] The physical attractiveness of the art certainly reflects a world not yet obsessed by revulsion toward physical desire[47] and an acceptance of sexual drives as normal. In the portrayals of Aphrodite-Venus, her attractiveness is frankly depicted.[48] In the mosaic vignettes of Zeus—Jupiter, the 'Lord of the world' cannot be rejected by the objects of his desire. Two of the identifiable motifs are of Ganymede

abducted by Zeus as eagle and Leda seduced by Zeus as swan.[49] The 'human' representation of the pagan gods must have validated the physical relationships of pagan worshippers and influenced the worshippers' attitudes towards themselves.

Phoenician heritage in the religion of Berytus and environs

Religious self-identification may be intertwined with ethnic self-identification. Although it is clear that many pagans thought of themselves as 'Hellenes' and were so described by others,[50] there appears to be evidence for the self-identification as 'Phoenicians' by the people of Berytus, Tyre, Sidon, Heliopolis, and other cities of the province of Phoenicia. (These two categories are not mutually exclusive, and there is room as well for self-identification as Romans.)

Because the Punic language is not attested as surviving by inscriptional evidence past the second century AD[51] in this area,[52] it might seem at first that the loss of the language might represent a loss of self-identification. However, Hebrew declined as a spoken language at this same time,[53] and no one would argue that Jews ceased to identify themselves ethnically or religiously as Jews simply because the use of the ancient language withered.[54] I would argue that just as the loss of Hebrew did not deter the Jews from fashioning a cultural identity through Aramaic and Greek writings, so the loss of Punic did not deter the pagans of the Phoenician cities from maintaining a cultural identity using the Greek language,[55] particularly by the preservation of Semitic 'loan' words.[56] It would not matter precisely which language was being used; the issue is that the person using the non-Greek term felt he was referring to an ancestral Phoenician identity as the following passage reveals.

From the invented epitaph of Meleager, a poet who grew up in Tyre, the near neighbor of Berytus, comes evidence that during the first century BC, there was a perceived distinction between Syrians, Phoenicians, and Greeks:

> ***'αλλ' εἰ μὲν Σύρος ἐσσί, Σάλαμ. εἰ δ' οὖν σύ γε Φοῖνιξ,***
> ***Ναίδιος. εἰ δ' Ἕλλην, Χαῖρε. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ φράσον.***
>
> If you are a Syrian, Salam! If you are a Phoenician, Naidius! [57]
> If you are a Greek, Chaire! (Hail) and say the same yourself. [58]

The construction of identity comes not only from what one thinks of oneself but also from the acceptance or rejection of views expressed by others. It was traditional from the writings of Herodotus onward to regard Egyptian and Phoenician religion as more ancient than Greek religion. Such a view seems to have continued into the later periods. In a passage dealing with the true interpretation of the legend of Asclepius (Asklepios), Pausanias cites the opinion of a Sidonian. By his treatment of the incident, Pausanias establishes that he viewed as 'Phoenician' the man with whom he was conversing in Greek at a

Greek site and that 'Phoenician' religious interpretation was regarded as somehow distinctive.

> In this sanctuary of Asclepius a man of Sidon entered upon an argument with me. He declared that the Phoenicians had better notions about the gods than the Greeks [Hellenes], giving as an instance that to Asclepius they assign Apollo as father, but no mortal woman as his mother. Asclepius, he went on, is air, bringing health to mankind and to all animals likewise; Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he named the father of Asclepius, because the sun, by adapting his course to the seasons, imparts to the air its healthful-ness.[59]

The supposed antiquity of Phoenician religion was emphasized by Philo of Byblos in *The Phoenician History,* dated to the late first or early second century AD,[60] which has been preserved in the fourth-century AD text of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius.[61] According to Porphyry, Philo translated the works of Sanchuniathon, a Phoenician priest who had lived in Berytus during the eleventh century BC, from the Phoenician language into Greek:

> The Phoenician history…which Sanchuniathon wrote in the Phoenician language and Philo of Byblos translated into Greek in eight books.[62]

It is important to remember that Eusebius was preserving the account of Philo as a means of discrediting pagan religion. In this work he supported the reputation of Phoenicians as authorities on pagan belief by echoing the traditional viewpoint that Phoenicians (and Egyptians) predated Greek accounts, such as the *Theogony* of Hesiod.[63] Eusebius's purpose was polemical in that he wanted to set up the Phoenician version of religion as widely accepted so that he could then discredit it by demonstrating the superiority and greater antiquity of the Judaic-Christian belief system. However, like many polemicists, he set the terms of the argument. In other words, Eusebius constructed pagan identity in such a way that they were forced to operate within it, even to argue against it. Literate pagans after Eusebius might well have found themselves compelled to identify themselves in Eusebian terms, to the extent that Eusebius's definitions were accepted.[64]

Distinctive features of Phoenician mythology were described by Philo in the passages preserved in Eusebius:

> Then he [Philo] says that from the wind Kolpia and his wife Baau (and that he renders 'Night') there were born Aion and Protogonos, mortal men called by these names. Aion discovered the food obtained from trees. The children born of them were called Genos and Genea and they settled Phoenicia. And when there were droughts, they stretched out their hands to heaven, towards the sun. For (he says) they considered him the sole god,

> the ruler of heaven, calling him Beelsamen, which means to the Phoenicians 'Ruler of Heaven,' but to the Greeks 'Zeus.'[65]

After enumerating several offspring who were responsible for various discoveries such as fire, huts made from rushes, papyrus, hunting and fishing, iron and the method of working it,[66] Philo described the Phoenician equivalent of Hephaistos.

> One of these {brothers named} Chousor, composed [magical] formulas and incantations and prophecies; and he was Hephaistos. He also discovered the fishhook and bait and the fishing line and the raft, and was the first of all men to sail. Therefore they also revered him as a deity after his death. And he was also called Zeus Meilichius. Some say that his brothers discovered the use of brick to make walls. Thereafter from their family two youths were born, one of whom was called Technites and the other Geinos Autochthon.[67]

Other offspring were assigned important discoveries, such as Taautos who devised alphabetic writing; he was known as Thouth to the Egyptians, as Thoth to the Alexandrians, and as Hermes to the Greeks. The father of Taautos was Misor ['easily solved']; the brother of Misor was Sydyk ['the Just'].[68]

> Sydyk fathered the Dioskouroi or Kabeiroi or Korybants or Samothracians. These, he [Philo] says, were the first to invent a ship.[69]

After retelling the story of Ouranos, Kronos, and Ge in a version quite similar to traditional Greek versions,[70] Philo makes specific reference to Berytus and its protective deities. In the time of these gods, Kronos founded Byblos by enclosing it with a wall and gave it to the goddess Baaltis who is known also as Dione. It has been suggested that Baaltis is the Greek transcription of Ba'alat-Gébel.[71] Ba'alat-Gébel is in turn equated to Astarté, or Ashtar, who was commemorated in artwork both at Byblos[72] and Berytus[73] as the protective goddess of the city. The female figure wears a mural crown and is leaning on a staff. Here Ronzevalle equated the 'goddess of the city Berytus' to Astarte, consort of Baalmarqod, or Juno as the consort of the god Jupiter. There is no inscription in these plaques; the attribution seems to have been made on stylistic grounds.[74]

Kronos also entrusted other gods with concern for Berytus.

> And [Kronos gives] Beirut to Poseidon and to the Kabeiroi and Agrotai and Halieis, who consecrated the remains of Pontos in Beirut.[75]

Agrotai and Halieis were described in a previous passage as sons of the founders of Tyre. The reference to Pontos is unexplained by the chief commentator Baumgarten;[76] perhaps in some way the Greek word for the 'sea' is meant. In the

references to Berytus and its tutelary deities may be found both Greek and Phoenician terms and stories. By Eusebius's time, such syncretism was common. In fact, Philo specifically says the Greeks borrowed these stories from the Phoenicians.

> The Greeks, outstripping all [other men] in cleverness first appropriated most [of the stories], and then wrote them up with various embellishments in tragic style and, intending to charm [people] with the pleasures of the myths, decked them out in every way. Hence Hesiod and the famous Cyclic poets fashioned theogonies, and gigantomachies, and titanomachies of their own, and castration stories. And traveling about with these they completely defeated the truth.[77]

The importance of this Phoenician legend for this study lies not in tracing the various elements back to their most ancient parallels[78] but to the use made of the belief system by citizens of Berytus. The stories re-inforced the Phoenician self-identity as artisans, craftsmen, sailors, and merchants who were favored by specific gods. The Phoenicians recognized the peculiar elements of their own versions of the myths commonly told throughout the Mediterranean world.[79] The emphasis on different religious interpretation of the pagan stories may have fostered a sense of ethnic difference as well, as long as these stories were recounted, even into the Late Antique period by the reading of Eusebius.

Severan construction of Phoenician religion

Scholars such as Fergus Millar have observed the conscious connection made by Septimius Severus and his heirs between the cities of Phoenicia (especially Tyre) and North Africa (especially Carthage).[80] In addition I would like to suggest that the Severan dynasty consciously constructed a 'Phoenician' identity for paganism that particularly emphasized the legends glorified in the *Aeneid*. Such an initiative in propaganda would serve many useful purposes.[81] It would glorify the Severans as combining the blood of Phoenicians from both mother country (Phoenicia) and daughter colony (Carthage) in the present rulers of the Roman Empire. Such propaganda, ennobling non-Romans, would aid the 'outsiders' who wished to be accepted by the senatorial 'insiders.' Another positive outcome of such glorification of Phoenician paganism could be to reverse commonly held negative views of 'Syro-Phoenicians' as encapsulated in the biblical reference to such an ethnic group as 'dogs.'[82] The emphasis on 'Phoenician' rather than 'Syrian'[83] could soften the sting of insults by Cicero, Juvenal, and other classical authors who were undoubtedly read by the literate Severans.

The desire to 'ennoble' Phoenician ethnicity may explain in part the various examples of Julia Domna's patronage of Phoenician lawyers and literateurs; that is, an attempt on her part to showcase the talent of her countrymen. In Herodian's (5.3.2–6) account of the cult of Elagabalus at Emesa, Herodian

characterized Elagabalus as a Phoenician name and described Julia Maesa as *Phoinissa,*[84] a term made famous or notorious by its previous attachment to Dido in the *Aeneid*.[85] Although Herodian was describing cultic practice in another city, it is clear that most Hellenized or Romanized observers of the Severan dynasty saw their religious practices as tinged with Phoenician overlays.

The deliberate paganism of Septimius Severus is affirmed by his legislation on religion, as recorded in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

> On the journey to Palestine he established many laws. He forbade people to become Jews under severe penalty. Likewise, he enacted a similar law about the Christians.[86]

Such prohibition of conversion indicates that the Severan dynasty not only actively supported paganism but also forbade its abandonment by its adherents.

Additional evidence can be found on the coins of Berytus, specifically those issued during the reign of various members of the Severan dynasty. The scenes reflect an interest in 'Phoenician' religion; many of the figures on the coins can be identified with gods in the *Phoenician History* of Philo and with the *Aeneid* of Vergil. Although such coins could be interpreted as merely examples of archaizing or literary motif, I suggest that they also expressed the self-identification of the leading citizens of Berytus as 'Phoenician' and pagan. In fact, I suggest that such an identification had gained a certain amount of 'cachet' as an upper-class marker.

Several illuminating examples are found in the coins issued by the city of Berytus during the reign of Elagabalus (218–22 AD) whose very name proclaimed his status as a devotee of Baal. The representations on the coinage must have popularized these stories while emphasizing the Phoenician element of the culture. On one coin the eight gods, the *Kabeiroi,* ('the great ones') are pictured.[87] They sit in a circle, each one with his left hand on his seat and his right hand raised or extended. This gesture probably represents a blessing and a withholding of curse.[88] In the exergue there is a galley. Readers of Herodotus 7. 129.4 will recall that representations of the *Kabeiroi,* ('the great ones') adorned the prows of Phoenician ships.

The brother of the *Kabeiroi* was Eshmun who was equated to Asclepios, restorer of health. According to Pausanias 7.23.6, there was a temple at Berytus dedicated to his worship.[89] A coin issued by the city of Berytus during the reign of Elagabalus shows a god standing between two serpents.[90] The god has been identified as Eshmun-Asclepios.

Perhaps the most important numismatic evidence for the construction of Phoenician identity in the city of Berytus is a coin also struck by the city council in the reign of Elagabalus. This coin portrays Aeneas in his most *pius* role, carrying his father Anchises on his back and leading his son Ascanius by the hand.[91] Such a coin would be meaningless if the citizens of Berytus did not understand the iconography which is so explicit in the pages of the *Aeneid*. Thus,

even by the imagery of the coinage, the Roman heritage of Berytus was emphasized.

The worship of Poseidon, affirmed by the *Poseidonistes* (the association of Berytian merchants at Delos in the second century BC), continued through the centuries in Berytus itself. Poseidon was identified as a tutelary god of Berytus, even into the Late Antique period. In particular, Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca* couches the relationship between the god and the city in intimate terms:

> There is a city Beroë, the keel of human life, harbour of the Loves, firmbased on the sea… The other part by the seas the city possesses, where she offers her breast to Poseidon…[92]

The continuing identification of Poseidon and the *Kabeiroi* as tutelary gods of Berytus is suggested not only by the coinage of the Severan dynasty (see pp. 293–5), but also by three Late Antique poems of Iohannes Barbucallus, written after the earthquake of 551 AD.

> Here I lie, the luckless city, no longer a city, with my dead inhabitants, most ill-fated of all towns. After the Earth-shaker's shock Hephaestus consumed me. Alas, how excellent my beauty who am now dust! But as ye pass by bewail my fate, and let fall a tear for destroyed Berytus.
>
> Where is Cypris, the keeper of the city, that she may see her who was once the seat of the Graces become the dwelling-place of spectres? The city is the tomb of dead men who had no funeral; under her ashes we, Beroe's many thousands, rest. Engrave on one stone above her, ye dear survivors: 'Berytus the lamented lies low on the ground.'
>
> Stop not thy ship's course, mariner, because of me; lower not thy sails; thou seest the harbour dry. I am but one tomb. Let some other place that knows not mourning hear the beat of thine oars as thy ship approaches. This is Poseidon's pleasure and that of the Hospitable gods. Farewell seafarers, farewell wayfarers![93]

Whether or not the elements of the earthquake narrative had become a *topos* for composition is not the crucial point here. The identification, even at this late date, of the Berytians with the 'hospitable gods' or the *Kabeiroi,* suggests that 'Phoenician' paganism was still understood, if only as a literary reference, in the sixth century.

Although it is likely that the author was 'Christian,' he couched the destruction of Berytus in terms of abandonment by the pagan gods, not as an act of punishment by the Christian God.[94] Even at this late period, the city and its people were identified by Phoenician religious referents, as preserved in Philo's *Phoenician History*.

Julian and Late Antique paganism in Berytus and Phoenicia

Julian (361–3 AD) sought to restore paganism during his brief reign. Pagan practice was encouraged and Christian worship was discouraged, particularly by imperial legislation and example.[95] Libanius and others began to rejoice in the restoration of temples, the re-institution of public sacrifice, and the other visible evidence of revived paganism.[96] It well may be that Julian was especially venerated in Berytus just by the same sort of professors and philosophers who were very like Libanius in their outlook. Although this inscription was found in Byblos, it may reflect the way in which he was also honored in the city of Latin learning. The formula is honorific and lists his triumphs and his offices to that point in time. This inscription must be one of the very last ones in Latin in the Levant, surely no later than 363 AD.

1 ……[repara]
2 tori [orbis romani et]
3 res[titutori omnium re]
4 rum e[t totius felicitatis re]
5 creatori [sacrorum et]
6 exstincto[ri superstitionis Fl.]
7 Iuliano per[p(etuo) Aug(usto) Ger]
8 manico ma[ximo Alaman(ico) ma]
9 ximo Sarmat[ico et Fran(cico)]
10 maximo p(ontifici) m(aximo)…x…
11 cum Genu…[et fillis?].
12 eius vot…[97]

If the suggested reading is correct, the inscription reads:

> …to the repairer of the Roman world and to the restorer of all things and to the recreator of sacred things and to the extinguisher of superstition [Christianity], to Flavius Julian perpetual Augustus, the greatest conqueror of the Germans, the Alemanni, the Sarmatians and the Franks, and the greatest Pontifex Maximus [high priest]…

This inscription is on a large stone, which when intact, would have measured about the size of half a column. The text was reconstructed from consulting other inscriptions to Julian in which he is praised for his triumphs over various barbarian groups.[98] Perhaps this inscription was meant to bring him good fortune on his final expedition to Persia. This would be appropriate in an area settled by soldiers, many of whose descendants seem to have maintained their allegiance to the old gods as well.[99]

Julian and the construction of Late Antique ethnicity and religion

Julian embraced Hellenism as encompassing all that was ideal in life to him: philosophy, religion, and intellectual achievement.[100]

Julian explained his anti-Christian views most clearly in *Contra Galileos* in which he attacked the new theology for lacking the strengths of Hellenism and Judaism which had clear teachings about God. In this essay Julian sets forth the idea that nations must honor as closely as possible indigenous deities who in turn foster native character traits.

> But now consider our teaching in comparison with this of yours. Our [pagan] writers say that the creator is the common father and king of all things, but that the other functions have been assigned by him to national gods of the peoples and gods that protect the cities; every one of whom administers his own department in accordance with his own nature.[101]

This essay is normally discussed in terms of its attacks on Christians, who were a bastard combination of Jews and Greeks according to Julian, turning Paul's call for unity of the two groups[102] to disadvantage. Although much has been made of the emperor's presentation of Hellenism and Judaism, a close look at his argument shows that Julian espoused a positive concept of the nature of several 'nations' and their gods. Julian felt that national characteristics arose from the personality of national gods.

> Come, tell me why it is that the Celts and the Germans are fierce, while the Hellenes and Romans are, generally speaking, inclined to political life and humane, though at the same time unyielding and warlike? Why the Egyptians are more intelligent and more given to crafts, and the Syrians unwarlike and effeminate, but at the same time intelligent, hot-tempered, vain and quick to learn?[103]

Julian continues to refute Jewish claims to superiority deriving from God's special favor. He points to the intellectual contributions made to mankind's progress by other 'nations' but brought to successful conclusion by the cleverness of the Greeks. In Julian's attributions of ethnic abilities by nation, the specific talents of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Phoenicians are stereotyped.

> For the theory of the heavenly bodies was perfected among the Hellenes, after the first observations had been made among the barbarians in Babylon. And the study of geometry took its rise in the measurement of the land in Egypt, and from this grew to its present importance. Arithmetic

> began with the Phoenician merchants, and among the Hellenes in course of time acquired the aspect of a regular science.[104]

Earlier in the essay Julian explained that such differing national traits came from differing national gods.

> Therefore, as I said, unless for every nation separately some presiding national god (and under him an angel, a demon, a hero, and a peculiar order of spirits which obey and work for the higher powers) established the differences in our laws and characters, you must demonstrate to me how these differences arose by some other agency.[105]

Julian's god is superior to Moses's god because he reigns over the national gods who cause distinctive national characters.

> If the immediate creator of the universe be he who is proclaimed by Moses, then we hold nobler beliefs concerning him, inasmuch as we consider him to be the master of all things in general, but that there are besides national gods who are subordinate to him and are like viceroys of a king, each administering separately his own province.[106]

Athanassiadi-Fowler skillfully sums up Julian's position by reference to his epistles:

> Once the character of a nation has found its expression in time—in other words, once a culture has been created—there naturally emerges the concept of national tradition, which ideally should be as perennial as the divine prototype whose concrete representation it is. Consequently each nation has a duty to maintain its specific character at all costs.[107]

Thus Julian saw the 'essence' of greatness for a nation or people as arising from the worship of the traditional gods in that *ethnos*. His opinion had great effect on his fellow pagans far beyond the walls of a philosopher's study. These sentiments were penned by an emperor who had the resources of empire at his disposal and could hope that his words would be accepted as a sort of pagan dogma.

Late Antique paganism as a restoration of the *status quo*

During the short-lived attempt by Julian to restore paganism, some pagans began to hope that polytheism might resist the advances of state-supported Christianity which Constantine had created.[108] The religious climate set by the emperor was reflected by the actions of his subordinates in the provinces.[109] In such an atmosphere, the pagan bureaucrat Vindaonius Magnus burned a church at

Berytus.[110] Theodoret refers to this event in his fuller account of religious turmoil at Alexandria (the removal of the bishop Peter and the installation of Lucius the Arian by government troops):

> [And] there, too, was Magnus the treasurer, notorious for every kind of impiety, leading a vast body of troops. In the reign of Julian this Magnus had burnt the church at Berytus, the famous city of Phoenicia; and in the reign of Jovian of blessed memory, after barely escaping decapitation by numerous appeals to the imperial compassion, had been compelled to build it up again at his own expense.[111]

It is known from the correspondence of Libanius that Magnus was in Phoenicia in 361 AD and served as a lawyer and rhetor in Phoenicia in 364 AD.[112] Given the lack of censure for his deeds during the reign of Julian, it seems logical to conclude that Magnus felt that he had the emperor's support for his destruction of the church at Berytus. It could well be true that Magnus saw himself as ridding the Phoenician landscape of 'Galilaean' pollution and reinstalling the traditional tutelary gods of Berytus. Although Jovian compelled him to rebuild the church in Berytus, no other penalty is mentioned and Magnus continued his upward career path in the East Roman government.[113]

It is interesting that there is evidence from a letter of Libanius to Gaianus who was the governor of Phoenicia during this period that the restoration of temples could be a hardship for those involved and that economic consequences were linked to changes in religious sovereignty.

> To Gaianus.[114] 1. I do not know when ever the sons of Thalassius[115] will get justice in Phoenicia unless they prevail over those who do them wrong while that true gentleman, Gaianus, a born orator and governor, watches over Phoenicia, wakeful and alert. 2. You are not unaware of the ties of goodwill that bind me to them through our family connections, or yet of the fact that Bassianus has a second claim upon me, in that he was brought up and grew to manhood as my pupil and at my lectures.[116] Since I am also friendly with you, as everyone well knows, I would be proved a rogue on both counts if I betrayed those who should be my concern and if I did not venture to write to a friend who has long justified the term by his actions. 3. To sum up, then, please show concern for my relatives. This does not imply any relaxation of the maintenance of law: it is possible both to leave them undisturbed and to assist these people, for one aspect of the matter involves the collection of a debt, the other the prevention of those who misuse the present situation from doing exactly as they like. 4. As your informant upon the true facts of the case you have Hermeias,[117] who is an excellent person both by character and upbringing, and also the eunuch Martyrius, whom you will admit not to be one of the ordinary run of eunuchs but a person whom you can reasonably trust and justifiably

> commend. 5. So whenever people appear and accuse us of wholesale pillage, let these too be allowed to speak freely, and you will perhaps find that the complaints are out of all proportion to the facts. 6. Though we are bound to rejoice at the restoration of the temples, we must not surround the reform with an atmosphere of bitterness, in case we in our turn may hear similar accusations made against us—for this is the sort of thing that is happening in the present instance. 7. The sons of Thalassius converted temples into a house: they acted in conformity with the policy adopted by the emperor of the day.[118] I do not approve of it, but anyway this was legal at the time. Now the Phoenicians are in possession of the house and enjoy the revenue from it, and yet they bid them rebuild the temples for them as well.[119] 8. How, my dear people, can this be? We must either be in possession of the house to rebuild them, or if expelled from them, we should be rid of such complications. In my opinion they want toexact a double indemnity. But the gods do not take the line of harsh creditors: if anyone restores some of their property to them, they would not be glad to see him with a noose around his neck. 9. This same verdict will be given also by Gaianus, the friend of the gods, especially when the reason that compels the family of Thalassius to be subjected to such ill-treatment is over and done with.[120]

Although there is no evidence for the final fate of the temple of Aphrodite at Berytus, which is known only from coin evidence,[121] Eusebius and Sozomen record the destruction of a temple of Aphrodite at Heliopolis that had been a site of ritual prostitution. Constantine had ordered the destruction of this building and had ordered a Christian church built over the site.[122] If the temple of Aphrodite in Berytus had met a similar fate, the burning of the church in Berytus might have seemed justified on several levels to Vindaonius. The destruction of a Christian building in Berytus took place in an atmosphere in which mutual acts of violence occurred between Christians and pagans in Phoenicia, such as the exposure, torture and evisceration of Christian virgins by pagans at nearby Heliopolis.[123]

Paganism as ethnic expression in Late Antiquity

The time for the overt attack on Christian practice and the open display of pagan belief would seem to have passed with Julian's death and the end of his attempted restoration of the old polytheism. Yet there continued to be 'loyalists' to the pagan worship of traditional gods. Although paganism was sometimes described as 'Hellenism' because of its linkage with Greek *paideia,* there was also veneration of the pagan gods in their local or indigenous aspects, as the stories from Pausanias, Philo, and Achilles Tatius make clear. In fact, Julian's theory of 'national gods' probably reflects a widespread view that the gods had local *personae,* whether designated by a Greek name or a Semitic one.[124]

A significant inscription, carved on a rocky promontory overlooking the Nahr el-Kelb (the Lycus River) seven miles to the north of Berytus, was discovered in the late nineteenth century. The published report describes the site and the setting of the Late Antique inscription amid other inscriptions pre-dating the Roman period.

> Nahr el-Kelb, or the Dog River of modern Arabic geography, is the Lycus Flumen, or Wolf River, of the Roman period. It rises in the heart of Lebanon, plunges down a wild and romantic gorge, and empties into the Mediterranean about two and a half hours, or seven miles, north-east of Beirut. The southern mountain wall which overlooks this rapid stream terminates at the sea in a bold promontory, around which, at the height of 100 feet above the water, winds an ancient road cut in the solid rock. The present road was cut in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about 173 or 176 AD. It is some six feet in breadth, paved with large uneven stones. But above it, for a part of the distance, there are traces of a still more ancient road. On the wall of rock that lines the roads (three of them on the present Roman, six of them on the older road) there are nine historic tablets, first discovered by Maundrell in 1697, and often described and copied since. Three of them are Egyptian, and six Assyrian. According to Lepsius, the three Egyptian tablets bear the cartouche of Rameses II, about 1300 years BC. Of the Assyrian tablets, one at least is the work of Sennacherib, about 700 BC. It was on the upper and more ancient road that Professor Paine made his fortunate discovery. He found there three Greek inscriptions, one of eight lines, one of twelve, and another of ten. He took squeezes of them all. The longest, of twelve lines, he has deciphered and rendered into English.[125]

This inscription was erected by one Proc[u]lus who has been identified as Proculus, the pagan Governor of Phoenicia, from 382–3 AD.[126] If the identification is correct, the inscription was commissioned nearly twenty years after Julian's failed attempt to restore paganism. This Proculus was the son of Tatianus[127] of Lycia, who rose eventually to the high office of Praetorian Prefect of the East. Much of the career of Proculus can be discovered from the correspondence and orations of Libanius who was hostile to him while he was *Comes Orientis* (383–4 AD) but spoke highly of him in other contexts. Proculus served as *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* (386 AD) and as Prefect of the City of Constantinople (388–92 AD). Proculus was executed through the efforts of Rufinus without the concurrence of Theodosius. It seems that Proculus was executed because of political jealousy by a subordinate[128] rather than because of an imperial policy to eliminate pagans from positions of power.[129]

The identification of the Proclus of the inscription as Proculus, the future *Comes Orientis,* appears strengthened by the *euergesia* commemorated in this inscription. Proculus in the following years enlarged the *plethron*[130] and built

streets, baths, colonnades and *fora* at Antioch. This improvement to the coast road between Ptolemais and Antioch seems a logical service of the Governor of Phoenicia and a fitting prelude to promotion in the imperial bureaucracy.

Πρόκλε πέπον Τατιανοῦ ἀρίστοιο Λυ|
κίοιο γενέθλη ἰθαγένοιο
ἀρχικὰ πατρώιων ἐξωριάζων φαῦλῳ
πρωθήβης Φοῖνιξ Ἡλιουπόλεως θεό|
φιν ἄρχων. Αἶψα μαλεκ τελέων ἱερὰ
ὄσσα νόῳ φρόνεε Φοινίκῃ αὐτῇ
ὅσον καὶ τόδε ἐργαζότεον νόημα
Ὦ μέγα θαῦμα τὰ αἰπύσατα τῶν
σκοπέλων ἴσον ἔθηκε μέσον
ὄφρα διηνεκέως ὁμαλὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανύοντες φεύγωμεν χαλεπεὶς
ὕψος ὁδοπλανής.

O gentle Proclus [son] of noble Tatianus of Lycia,
a family from noble stock,
fit for rule, surpassing somewhat the father's lineage,
in the prime of youth, a Phoenician of Heliopolis,
Governor by divine will. Quickly accomplishing the divine rites for Malek
such as he thought suitable for Phoenicia herself
and in proportion to this enterprise.
Oh great marvel! he made level the cliffs of the promontories
in the middle in order that continuously having a level road
we may avoid the heights of a circuitous road.[131]

The inscription may have been commissioned by the city council of Tyre or Berytus and then approved by Proculus, the most important official in the province of Phoenicia. The reference to the ancestral religion of the Phoenicians suggests that paganism persisted among the curial classes of these cities. Since the inscription was after all public, it should be understood from the viewpoint of the intended audience. Such an inscription would succeed if the reading *Malek* were understood by some readers, possibly only by an intellectual elite.[132]

The inscription, deliberately composed in Homeric Greek, not only proclaims the accomplishments of Proculus, but also testifies to an elite education for the composer. The appearance of the word Malek, transliterated into Greek from a Semitic language, initially appears puzzling.[133] However, Phoenician religion had long connected Jupiter (Zeus) to a chief god Malek, 'the Lord' or 'king.' Such a connection is made explicit in the following inscription. Found in the heart of Berytus, it has been dated to the Roman period.

I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) MALECHIABRUDENENO.
To Jupiter Best Greatest, King of Yabroûd.[134]

Lauffray interpreted this inscription as one erected by a visitor to Berytus from an interior village to the reigning god of his hometown. The important point is that *malech* means 'king' and is here directly linked to the worship of IOM.

There is literary as well as epigraphic evidence for the meaning of *MLCh* or *MLK* from the comment by Porphyry in the *Vita Plotini* 17. Born in Tyre in 234 AD and writing well into the beginning of the fourth century, Porphyry said that in his own language *malkos* means *basileus* in Greek.[135]

> He [Amelius] dedicated it [a book] to me under the name of Basileus [King]. Basileus was in fact my name, for in my native language I was called Malkus[136] (my father's name), and if one translates Malkus into Greek it is interpreted as Basileus. So when Longinus dedicated his work 'On Impulse' to me, Porphyry, and Cleodamus, he began his preface 'My dear Cleodamus and Malkus.' But Amelius translated Malkus into Basileus, as Numenius did Maximus into Megalos.[137]

Thus there is clear evidence for the Late Antique preservation of *MLK* or *MLCh* as 'king' in a non-Greek language spoken in Tyre. The language must be Aramaic or a near cousin.[138] Yet it seems likely that the *malkos*[139] of Porphyry of Tyre, the *Zeus Melichius* of Philo of Byblos, and the *malek* of the inscription from the Nahr el-Kelb, seven miles north of Berytus, all refer to the continued veneration of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus Baal, the supreme god of the sanctuaries of Deir el Qalaa and of Heliopolis. [140] Theodosius I (379–95) eventually acted to close the temple of Zeus-Baal-Jupiter at Heliopolis, according to the testimony of Malalas[141] and the *Chronicon Paschale*.[142] The inscription to *malek,* encrypted or not, provides evidence for continued veneration of the traditional god of Berytus and Heliopolis by some pagans, although perhaps only an elite few.

Paganism as traditional *praxis* in the environs of Late Antique Berytus

During the late fifth century AD Saint Matrona visited the area near Berytus and stayed in a pagan temple now inhabited only by demons, according to her hagiographers. [143] The *idoleon* is more fully described thus: 'in the region of Berytus…a temple of the idols.'[144]

Matrona was visited by a series of disguised demons who offered her information about the temple and her situation.[145] Eventually one of these demons was made visible in the form of an old woman beggar who spoke to her thus:

> 'If I was not able to defeat you, the brave one, while you are a young woman, in old age, I shall bring upon you the most painful of things. Now

> I will set against you those who are in Beirut, for you dishonor their temple and, as much as you can, you neglect it.'[146]

It seems quite likely that the temple site was either Deir el Qalaa where a Christian monastery was built upon the foundations of the temple to Jupiter (as Baal) and to Juno[147] or Beit Meri where there has been a Maronite convent for many centuries.[148] The conversion of a temple site to a church or monastery is a continuing motif in the hagiographic literature.[149] The site is described as deserted.

> Now, it happened once, as she performed the nightly psalmody, that demons sang most fervently in response, for she heard the voices of many men singing. Taking fright and fortifying herself with the sign of the cross, she completed the psalmody, considering within herself and saying, 'this place is deserted and the house unhallowed; there is no village in this place, nor have any passersby approached; whence, then, come these voices?'[150]

In another visitation by a demon who has transformed himself into 'a woman fair of face and of solemn and noble bearing,'[151] Matrona was told:

> 'What are you doing here, madam, you who are young and quite fair of form? This is no place [the temple] for you: it is a dwelling of idols and demons. Come to Beirut, for it is a beautiful and hospitable city, which provides for all people. It is desolate here: there is no provision for the necessities of life. Furthermore, heaven forbid that any of those men who often come here should do you harm, desirous of committing sin with you.'[152]

Matrona made a reputation for herself by combating these demons and by public teaching.[153] She attracted a number of women converts from Berytus and the surrounding areas.[154] Among these converts was a pagan priestess. The account of her duties as a priestess and the reactions of the pagans when she ceased performing these duties provides a rare window into the *praxis* of paganism in or near Late Antique Berytus and perhaps by extension into paganism of the larger world of Phoenicia or Syria or even the Greek East.

> But thereafter there was talk of her [Saint Matrona] in Beirut, and many went out unto her, both men and women, and especially noblewomen, for in a few days report of her had spread everywhere. All told of how her angelic way of life and splendid purity had routed the demons in the temple and put them to flight…
>
> Yet another maiden, also a heathen, heard of these things, and she too desired to see the blessed Matrona and to associate herself with her. Now, once when her relations were to perform the customary libations to vain

> idols, they left her in the house, to bring the flour and wine and whatever else they had prepared for the demons and to follow them, while they went on beforehand and began the foolish <rites>, awaiting the maiden's arrival. But seizing the opportunity the young woman distributed the wine and flour and everything else to the poor, deeming it better to satisfy the hunger of the needy than to serve deaf, senseless idols; and then, finding women who were going off to the blessed one, she followed them. Not knowing what the girl had done, those who worshipped the abominable idols waited for her. When a long time had passed and she did not come, they returned and looked for her. Learning from those who happened to be about what she had done, that she had gone off to the Christian woman in the temple, they ran in pursuit of her; but she had gone into the holy one. As they stood by the door of the temple and saw her prostrate at the feet of the blessed one, beseeching to be received by her as the others had been received, they called out to her with the most dreadful threats: 'Come out here,' they said, 'impious one, lest we give you, together with this temple that has been profaned and also your teacher, over to the flames. Who has prompted you to this foolish and lawless action? Why have you forsaken light for darkness? Why have you kindled such anger against us? Are you not afraid wretched one? Do you not tremble to have done such a lawless deed? Are you not mindful that the gods have power to smite you and this teacher who has thrust herself upon you? Do you not consider how great is the offense you have committed, putting wretched hopeless paupers before the most great and glorious gods? Flee your impiety. Renounce your folly. Regain sound and prudent reason. Forsake this wretched teacher and her mournful manner, for she has received her just deserts. Come out! Come out from thence, lest this place of salvation become for you a tomb of destruction. We shall bear you no malice, unhappy one, only come away. We shall beseech them whom you have angered, but you must not remain here.' Saying this and similar things they promised the maiden much, and flattered her still more, while threatening and abusing the holy one; and then they withdrew, promising to burn the temple and the women within on the morrow. Whereupon the godless ones received no reply from the blessed Matrona, save, This girl is the servant of the God of your gods. For ours is a mighty God, the Maker of heaven and earth, but your gods are abominations, works of the hands of men who are born and die, <idols which> molder and putrefy and in the end serve as fuel for the fire.[155]

Pagan practice in this account appears only to be an offering of grain and wine to the idols. Public acts of veneration[156] of pagan gods had been banned specifically in an imperial rescript. Simple private acts of devotion, such as offerings of grain and wine, had replaced public ritual. The legal language specifies what acts comprised private paganism: placing incense before an image; binding a tree with fillets; erecting an altar of turf; or offering a gift, no matter how humble, to

an image.[157] The 'idols' in the story of the pagan priestess may be wooden images because the hagiographer describes them as little better than firewood. It is hard to link pagan practice to the temple itself, as the pagans threaten to burn it down in order to immolate Matrona and her converts.

In the version given above from the *Vita Prima,* the young maiden who is also a Hellene[158] appears to be a willful adolescent who has failed to follow the wishes of her family in continuing worship of family gods. However, in the *Vita Altera,* the young woman is described as a priestess[159] who has neglected religious duties for a wider community.

> Among them was a virgin, a Greek [Hellene, pagan][160] priestess of the temple who, when she heard these things about the holy woman, became filled with divine zeal and condemned her own gods. She (hastened and) gave to the poor the offerings lavish[ed] by the Greeks [Hellenes, pagans] in unlawful sacrifices to demons. She separated herself from the others and came to Matrona and eagerly made herself one of those who chose to follow her. As the day came when she was to offer the sacrifices,[161] a multitude of people and her relatives assembled, and not finding her, had no way to perform the ceremonies without the priestess. They were not able to know what had happened before. But when her parents learned the matter, they came quickly to the temple where the holy woman lived, and seeing her [the priestess] at the holy woman's feet, they said to her, abusively, 'Why, O girl, have you looked with contempt upon the greatest of gods and have left the sacrifice unperformed and agitated the people against us, for they would not tolerate insult against the gods? And why have you chosen this dishonorable and unworthy life over the noblest and most praiseworthy conduct? Now, abandon the irrationality that seized you, be sensible and of wise thought. Put away this mournful habit and be joyous and come to us who are joyous, lest what you think is the place of your salvation becomes your grave, for if you do not do what we tell you, tomorrow your dwelling place will be destroyed by fire.' Saying these things, they did not hear anything from her.[162]

The threat by the pagans to burn the temple suggests an intense desire on the part of the people to constrain the pagan priestess to return to her duties. Drastic action occasioned by the loss of an intercessor with divinity must have seemed justified to the pagans. Priestesses and prophetesses as conduits for divine power are well attested throughout the ancient world. There is evidence from the various versions of this story that many people, in the city and in the countryside, were still pagan in the late fifth century.[163]

Conclusion about paganism in and near Late Antique Berytus

Paganism in Berytus was, as in most cities of the Greek East, a combination of veneration of widely known powerful figures, such as Poseidon, Zeus, Aphrodite, and of local deities, especially those related to foundation stories. In Berytus, however, there were two unusual factors. The first was the pride in the Phoenician heritage which emphasized the 'native' and very ancient element of local belief. The second was a continuity with the legend of the 'Roman' character of the city which may have derived from the introduction of a 'Roman' pantheon by the settler-soldiers.

Julian's late description of 'national' gods seems to have echoed beliefs other people, perhaps only intellectuals, preserved. The poems of Agathias and Nonnus make clear that some people of the Greek East knew the old pagan myths in great detail. Whether the urban intellectuals and the rural illiterates would recognize each other's 'gods' as manifestations of the divine seems unknowable at this distance. Pagans may not have had a shared vocabulary of religion. The varying definition of 'god' was shaped by the old legends rehearsed at banquets of the refined in dining rooms ornamented with mosaic themes from the myths[164] or by stories recounted at a small country table when a little grain and wine were laid aside for the spirits inhabiting 'idols.'[165]

Notes

1 See G.F.Hill (1911) for Graeco-Phoenician shrines.

2 Teixidor (1977) and (1989).

3 Handy (1994); Clifford (1990); Brody (1998).

4 Definitively discussed in Milik (1972) 416–17 who says that the sole epigraphic connection of Poseidon to Berytus comes from Delos, not Berytus itself. Picard (1920), (1921), (1935), and (1936) published the inscriptions and the archeological reports. Milik (1972) gives full recent bibliography on these inscriptions; see also Bruneau (1978).

5 *to (en Deloi) koinon Berytion Poseidoniston emporon kai naukleron kai endocheon*. My translation, based on Milik (1972) 416 who suggested *marchands… armateurs…expéditeurs* and Picard (1920) 272 who suggested *marchands… armateurs…entreposeurs*. Milik (1972) 416 cites *Inscriptions Delos* 1520, 1772–96, 2323–7, 2611.

6 Picard (1920) 275 and 287.

7 Milik (1972) 416–17. See Robert (1973) and Colledge (1987) for cultural interaction as reflected in art and architecture.

8 Jidejian (1973) pl. 136 (Poseidon and Beroë); pl. 125 (Poseidon, bearded, with trident); and pl. 126 (Poseidon in chariot drawn by four hippocamps).

9 G.F.Hill (1910) pp. 51–92, *passim*. Coins from 2nd century BC through Elagabalus (3rd century AD).

10 G.F.Hill (1910) 52.

11 G.F.Hill (1910) 78, coin 166.
12 Gawlikowski (1989).
13 See *CIL* III 153–76, 6668–95, and 14165, 1–7, for inscriptions from Berytus, Deir el Qalaa and Beit Meri. See Clermont-Ganneau (1888a), (1888b), and (1903); Ronzevalle (1900) and (1903); Du Mesnil and Mouterde (19l4–21b); Elian *et al.* (1983); Nordiguian (1993–4); Rey-Coquais (1999a) for publication of the site and the inscriptions.
14 Baedeker (1912) 287.
15 The nature of the site would suggest that it was originally used for the worship of Baal. See sources in note 13 and also Taylor (1971).
16 See Ronzevalle (1900), (1903) for original publication of the site and inscriptions at Deir el Qalaa. See also Du Mesnil and Mouterde (1914–21b).
17 Archeological site published in Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938).
18 Malalas 280 (Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott translation, p. 148) says: 'He [Aelius Antoninus Pius] built in Helioupolis in Phoenice Libanensis a large temple to Zeus, and this was one of the wonders,' See illustrations of the remains of the temples in modern Baalbek in Jidejian (1975) and Ragette (1980). Full publication of archeological site with detailed drawings in Wiegand (1921–5). See Rey-Coquais (1967) 137 for additional discussion of epigraphic and numismatic evidence for temples of Heliopolis.
19 Hitti (1967) 226 notes the scattered columns at the site. Some of them were seven feet in diameter.
20 These inscriptions of Heliopolis-Baalbek have been carefully published and minutely analysed. See especially *IGLS* VI: *Baalbek et Beqa*=Rey-Coquais (1967). See also Hajjar (1977) and (1990abc); Mouterde (1951–2), (1956), and (1959); and Milik (1972).
21 Millar (1990) 15–23. The last is honored in *CIL* III.6680, an inscription from 'Der el-Kala' [sic]. Additional discussion of IOMH at Berytus and Deir el Qalaa (Der el Kala) in Millar (1993) 280–5.
22 Mouterde (1956) studied Jupiter Heliopolitanus as both *Rex* and *Regulus* in the inscriptions.
23 Millar 1990 praises the 'immensely learned tabulation and analysis of the relevant inscriptions' by Hajjar (1977) 227f., but discounts his theory of a 'triad' of Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury.
24 Millar (1990) 22 with n. 66 counts eleven inscriptions from Berytus to IOMH (Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus), based on Hajjar (1977) 227f., nos. 199–207, 216,218.
25 Hajjar (1977) vol. 1, p. 221, no. 195, gives the following publication information: Mouterde (1925) 234; Ch. Virelleaud, *CRAI* (1926) 241; Seyrig, *Syria* (1939) 315–16, no. 18; *AE* (1940) no. 171; Milik, *Biblica* 48, fasc. 4 (1967) pp. 562–3; p. 605, s.v. *Sergit(anus).* The stone is 126 cm. high, 70 cm. wide. and was found at the intersection of rues Foch and Weygand in excavations of 1924.
26 My translation, based on suggestions in Hajjar (1977) vol. 1, p. 221, no. 195.
27 Additional discussion for this inscription is given in Chapter 10 on artisans in the metalworkers section. Note that the word for 'bronzeworker' appears only in the Greek version.
28 Because the Latin portion is entirely abbreviated, there have been several versions of the reading. *IGGR* 3.1079 (p. 411), based on Ronzevalle (1903) 29–49 and

Clermont-Ganneau (1905) 35–41 gave this reading: 'I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) B (almarcodi) e(t) I(unoni) R(eginae) e(t) I(unoni) S(imae) e(t) C(aelesti) S (omemiae) Q. A(ncharenus) Eu(tyches) v(otum) l(ibente) a(nimo) s(olvit).' 'To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Balmarcodes and Juno Regina and Juno Sima and S [ohaemias?] C[elestial?], Quintus Ancharenus Eutyches paid his vow with grateful mind.' *Theoi hagioi Bal(marcodi) kai theai Herai kai the(ai) Simai kai Neoterai Herai K.Ancharenos Eutyches chalchour[g]os kai OM*[.][].. *SPAU*[]. To the Holy God Bal[markodes] and the Goddess Hera and the Goddess Sima and the Younger Hera, Quintus Ancharenos Eutyches the bronze-worker and Pau[los].' Milik (1972) has discarded the previous reading *Balmarcodes* as an unnecessary emendation. Milik (1972) 412–13 also reads *S* as *sacrum,* not *Sohamiae* or *Syrorum* as in some earlier readings. I have followed Milik's reading of the Greek text (see above), but have not adopted his reading of the Latin because he uses the genitive case which does not parallel the dative case used in the Greek. See also Servais-Soyez (1986) 352, n. 36. See Rey-Coquais (1999a) for a recent interpretation of this inscription.

29 See Teixidor (1977).

30 Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.10.57 associates Astarte with the goddess of the sky: 'Principes dii Coelum et Terra qui in Aegypto Serapis et Isis, Taautes et Astarte apud Phoenices,' translated as The principal deities are the sky and the earth who in Egypt [are called] Serapis and Isis, [and] among the Phoenicians [are called] Tautes and Astarte.' Discussed in Baumgarten (1981) 69. See also Du Mesnil du Buisson (1973) for an excellent study of the entire Canaanite pantheon (Astarte, Baal, Eshmun, etc.). The 133 drawings and 19 plates indicate the usual representations of these gods and goddesses.

31 Milik (1972) 413.

32 Philo of Byblos, *The Phoenician History* 812.3 says: 'Astarte, the Phoenicians say, is Aphrodite.' (Baumgarten) 19, 200, 215. See also Achilles Tatius, *Clitophon and Leucippe* 1.1 for the reference to Astarte as the goddess of the city of Sidon. See Ronzevalle (1942–3) for Astarte as the city goddess of Berytus.

33 Venus and Aphrodite are the 'same' goddess in the *Aeneid* and *Iliad*. However, any reader of these two works will know immedately the different characterizations of the goddess. Specifically, Venus as mother of the Romans is a very different divinity from the patroness of Helen and Paris. It should be noted that Julia Domna issued many imperial coins from Rome using iconography referring to Venus.

34 G.F.Hill (1910) designates the coins as those of Astarte—Aphrodite. However the captions for the coins are in Latin, giving the standard abbreviation for Berytus as COL. IVL. AVG. FEL. BER., and the name of the reigning emperor. It seems to me just as likely that the citizens of Berytus might refer to the goddess as Venus. For Aphrodite and Venus, see Havelock (1995), D'Ambra (1996), and Brinkerhoff (1978).

35 G.F.Hill (1910) 64, n. 1 suggests a date of 112 AD; see also Hill (1910) 65, coin 92.

36 G.F.Hill (1910) 69, coins 112–14.

37 G.F.Hill (1910) 72, coins 135. Julia Domna also minted numerous coins from Rome with the inscription *Venus Genetrix*.

38 G.F.Hill (1910) 72, coin 142.

39 G.F.Hill (1910) 76, coins 161–3.

40 G.F.Hill (1910) 78, coins 169–70.

41 G.F.Hill (1910) 79, coins 171–82.

42 G.F.Hill (1910) 90, coins 256–8.

43 This description is taken from G.F.Hill (1910) 65, description of coin 92, minted at time of Trajan. The description given in Hill, for coins above, varies little for the various issues. The identification of the goddess as Astarte is not explained, but the representation is paralleled on coins of other Phoenican cities, several of which also had temples to Astarte—Aphrodite. See Achilles Tatius, *Clitophon and Leucippe* 1. 1 for a description of the temple at Sidon to Astarte—Aphrodite.

44 G.F.Hill (1910) 77–8, coins 165–8.

45 G.F.Hill (1910) 86–7, coins 228–35.

46 T.F.Mathews (1993) explains masterfully the origins of the representation of Christ as 'Jesus' as self-identification by the wealthy land owners and lower classes. Surely such an explanation can be applied to pagan art as well.

47 Brown (1988).

48 Jidejian (1973) pls 71–2, marble sculpture of Aphrodite warding off Pan with her sandal while Eros(?) hovers between the two figures, either in posture of defense or amusement; and pl. 94, bronze figurine of Venus in crouched position. For full publication of three statues of Aphrodite-Venus found in Berytus, see Michon (1925).

49 See Jidejian (1973) pl. 182, 'Roman mosaic from Beirut illustrating the adventures of Jupiter (Beirut National Museum).' Chéhab (1958–9) has complete publication.

50 A distinction between 'Hellenes' and Jews in the New Testament represented ethnic, cultural, and religious demarcations. See Bowersock (1990) for full discussion of Hellenism in Late Antiquity.

51 Z.S.Harris (1936) 7 and n. 29 refers to Phoenician coins inscribed with archaizing Phoenician script to mean *Laodoceias tes en Ponike,* 'Laodoceia of Phoenicia.' The coins, found in Berytus, are interpreted as referring to Berytus by an archaizing name. See G.F.Hill (1910) 264 for late Phoenician coins. Tyre issued coins in a cursive Phoenician script from 80–131 AD as did Sidon in 75 AD. Z.S.Harris (1936) 8 n. 33.

52 It is clear that Punic survived as a spoken language in North Africa into the fifth and sixth centuries AD, as evidenced from Augustine and Procopius. See Z. S.Harris (1936) 8–9; Segert (1976) and (1997); Krahmalkov (2001) for distinctions in these related languages.

53 Bëyer (1986).

54 See Avi-Yonah (1984) for a recent study of the Jews under Roman and Byzantine rule.

55 Lucian, *Alexander* 13 refers to Hebrew and Punic as 'outlandish' languages. Origen (*c.* 185–254) who lived in Caesarea in Palestine and who may have died at Tyre, distinguished between Hebrew and Punic in *Contra Celsum* 3.6.; Z.S. Harris (1936) 8 n. 33.

56 The close relation between these languages is well-explained in Bëyer (1986).

57 Translator's note: 'This Phoenician word for "Hail" is uncertain. Plautus gives it as "haudoni".' Paton translation, 2:227, n. 3.

58 Meleager, *Anthologia Graeca; The Greek Anthology* 7.419. Paton translation, 2: 227.

59 Pausanias 7.23.7–8; W.H.S.Jones translation 3:309. Discussion in Baumgarten (1981) 230–1.

60 Based on the *Suda* entry for Philo, cited in Attridge and Oden (1981) 20–1 in which Philo is said to have been born in the time of Nero and to have written during the reign of Trajan. See also Barr (1974–5) and Oden (1978).

61 The best Greek text of Philo's *Phoenician History,* which has been enhanced by an excellent English translation with philological and historical analyses, is now available in Baumgarten (1981). This edition should supersede all other editions which Baumgarten critiques thoroughly in the introduction. Baumgarten reprints the Greek text from Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker [FGH]* (Leiden 1969). Because the *Phoenician History* was imbedded in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica,* Baumgarten has compared the text of *FRG* with *Die Praeparatio Evangelica* in *Eusebius Werke,* vol. 8 (Berlin 1954). Attridge and Oden (1981) also has an English translation of Philo's *Phoenician History* with some commmentary.

62 Porphyry, *de abstinentia* 2.56, quoted in Attridge and Oden (1981) 17, from *Porphyrii opuscula,* edited by A.Nauck (Leipzig 1886). Translation by Attridge and Oden (1981) 16.

63 Baumgarten (1981) 93.

64 See Attridge and Hata (1992) for recent full study of Eusebius's polemical 'definition' of pagans and Jews.

65 Baumgarten (1981) 141, translating *FGH* 807.19–26, reproduced in Baumgarten (1981) 13.

66 Baumgarten (1981) 142–3, based on his translation of *FGH* 808.2–23.

67 Baumgarten (1981) 143, translating *FGH* 808.21–8, reproduced in Baumgarten (1981) 14.

68 Baumgarten (1981) 143, based on his translation of *FGH* 809.11.

69 Baumgarten (1981) 143, translating *FGH* 809–11–12, reproduced in Baumgarten (1981) 15. According to Baumgarten (1981) 176, the Dioskouroi were considered patrons of mariners in Greek mythology.

70 Baumgarten (1981) 181–3, translating *FGH* 809–14 to 811.22.

71 Jidejian (1968) 121–2. Mouterde (1964) 150–1, citing Fragm. II, 12b-27, translated in Lagrange (1905) 422–4.

72 Du Mesnil du Buisson (1970) 66, fig. 16, drawing of the priest-king of Byblos, Yehawmilk, offering a cup to Ba'alat Gébal, as portrayed in a stele at Byblos, dated to the fourth century BC.

73 Ronzevalle (1942–3) 16–17 suggests that the protective goddess with the mural-crown on a coin of Macrinus (shown in fig. 1, p. 14 of the article) should be interpreted as Astarte or Tyche. However, the legend on the coin only refers to the *Colonia Julia Felix Berytus*. Ronzevalle (1942–3) 19, fig. 2, shows a similar coin issued by Gordian III. Ronzevalle also discusses two small bas-relief plaques found in the pre-1914 excavations at Deir el Qalaa.

74 Perhaps a new study of these coins and sculptures would evaluate them as Hellenistic or Roman designs, much as Hurst (1999) has done for the worship of Tanit at Carthage. However, there may be an aspect of archaizing in the portrayal of the female figures.

75 Baumgarten (1981) 215, translating *FGH* 812.13–14, reproduced in Baumgarten (1981) 18.

76 Baumgarten (1981) 224, referring to *FGH* 808.20.

77 Baumgarten (1981) 216, translating *FGH* 813.11–17, reproduced in Baumgarten (1981) 19.
78 A task ably undertaken with full bibliography by Baumgarten (1981). See also Du Mesnil du Buisson (1970) for additional discussion and references.
79 Millar (1968) and (1997); G. Clark (1999).
80 Millar (1990); Baharal (1989), (1992), and (1996).
81 Fears (1977) and MacCormack (1981) for construction of imperial identity through association with art, coins, and literary works.
82 Mark 7:24–30 and Matthew 15:21–28 both tell the story of the Caananite woman of Tyre. In Mark 7:26, she is described as 'a Greek, a Syrophoenician by birth.' When she pleads for her daughter to be healed of demonic possession, she acknowledges that the Jews consider her as one of the dogs, but notes that even dogs can eat crumbs. It is a clear case of accepting the ethnic construct of the Syro-Phoenicians by the Jews but then arguing for ethical treatment anyway.
83 See Balsdon (1979) for full treatment of these passages and the attitudes that they reflect. See J.N.D.Kelly (1975) for knowledge of Juvenalian invective, as preserved in Jerome. Undoubtedly, other 'students' of these writers before and after Jerome were, too.
84 Observation in Millar (1983b) 58–9.
85 The epithet of Dido is spelled *Phoenissa* and occurs in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.670 and 714; 4.348 and 429; and 6.450. The wide-spread use of Vergil as a teaching text, even in the Greek East, and the availability of Servius as a Late Antique commentary may have popularized this identification; see Baldwin (1982b) and (1985).
86 *SHA,* Severus 16.9-My translation; Latin text from Magie edition, vol. 1, p. 408.
87 Jidejian (1973) 53 and fig. 122; G.F.Hill (1910) 83, coins 207–9.
88 My interpretation, based on clearly expressed beliefs in Roman world about *dexter* and *sinister* as revealed in Livy and Vergil. This belief seems paralleled in contemporary Middle Eastern mores about bad omens of extending the left hand in greeting.
89 Jidejian (1973) 53.
90 G.F.Hill (1910) 84–5, coins 216–19.
91 G.F.Hill (1910) 84, coins 213–15.
92 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 41.10–11, 28–9; Rowe translation 3:196–9. The reference to the breast offered to Poseidon probably refers to the projection of land into the sea at Berytus.
93 *Anthologia Graeca* (9.425–7); Paton translation 3:236–7. See A. Cameron (1993) for commentary on these poems.
94 See pp. 70–4 on the evidence of the earthquake narratives for view of other authors that the tidal wave was divine punishment by God for greed.
95 There are many useful details in Libanius's funeral oration for Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus's encomium, laws bearing Julian's name, much of which is analyzed in Bowersock (1978).
96 Libanius *passim*. Liebeschuetz (1972) 43.
97 'Dédicace en l'honneur de l'empereur Julien,' no. 15, pp. 265–9, in Jalabert (1907). The stone was found stretching from the land to the edge of the sea, at the 'port aux foins.' It had been carried to the area from Byblos, according to a local informant.

98 Compare to *CIL* 9.417, 3.7088, 7.5334, 9.5960, 8.4326, 6.31413, and 3.10648; see also *AE* (1893), no. 87, and *Mission,* p. 276, no. 108, and the following one found in Bulgaria (*AE* [1907] no. 45): 'Fl. Iuliano Pio [felici] venerabili ac triumfatori semper augusto/ pontifici maximo Germ(anico) maximo Alaman(ico) maximo/Fran (cico) maximo Sarm(atico) maximo, imperatori/II, conss. III,/patri patriae, proconsuli recuperata republica.'

99 These ideas are based on my reading of Ammianus Marcellinus and on the evidence for the persistance of paganism in the environs of Berytus and Heliopolis, some of which is laid out below.

100 Athanassiadi-Fowden (1981) has a particularly empathetic treatment of Julian's emotional attachment to pagan philosophy. See also Bowersock (1990) for the influence of Julian's concept of Hellenism.

101 Julian, *Contra Galileos* 115D; Wright translation 3:345.

102 Galatians 3:28: *ouk eni loudaios oude Hellen*… There is neither Jew nor Greek…'

103 Julian, *Contra Galileos* 116B; Wright translation 3:347.

104 Julian, *Contra Galileos* 178B; Wright translation 3:369.

105 Julian, *Contra Galileos* 143A; Wright translation 3:355.

106 Julian, *Contra Galileos* 148B; Wright translation 3:359.

107 Athanassiadi-Fowden (1981) 162 and n. 7, citing *Contra Galileos* 115de and *Ep.* 89a.453b.

108 See Barnes (1989) for the details of conflict between Christians and pagans in the reign of Constantius. Bowersock (1978) for Julian's new program of paganism, which was influenced by the emperor's interest in meeting the competition of Christianity.

109 Sozomen, *HE* 5.4–22 describes various actions taken by Julian and his subordinates against Christians. The mildness of the emperor's personal manner is frequently mentioned, but the climate of toleration of action against Christians is made clear through various events.

110 am indebted to Professor Wolf Liebeschuetz for this citation.

111 Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesia* 4.22.10. (Parmentier edition, p. 252.), Jackson translation, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 3. 122.

112 Following are some details which can be gleaned from the letters of Libanius. Vindaonius Magnus was a student of Libanius (*Ep.* 1272) and was recommended by him to Anatolius, the governor of Phoenicia, and his two sons (*Ep.* 303–4). Magnus was in Phoenicia in 361 AD (*Ep.* 675), and served as a rhetor and lawyer in Phoenicia in 364 AD (*Ep.* 1141, 1270, 1271, 1272).

113 See 'Vindaonius Magnus 12' in *PLRE* II.536–7. He is called *komitatesion largitionon komes* in Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesia* 4.22.10, *ho epi ton basilikon thesauron* in Socrates 4.21.3, and *ho ton thesauron tamias* in Sozomen 6.19.2. He was *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* in 373 AD; *PVC* 375–6 AD. He is mentioned also in *Cod. Theod.* 1.28.3 (dated 29 May 376 at Antioch) when he was prefect of the city.

114 Translator's note: '*BLZG* 160, *PLRE* 378 (6): governor of Phoenicia, AD 362–3.'

115 Translator's note: 'Libanius' kinsman by marriage and praetorian prefect, AD 351–3. The enmity with Gallus made his sons, also Christian, highly suspect to Julian. Ammianus (22.9.16 f) records attacks on the younger Thalassius in AD 362, and Julian's reconciliation with him. The family was wealthy, with property not only in

Syria and Phoenicia but also in Euphratensis, where they faced the same problems as here (*Ep.* 1404).'

116 *PLRE* 150 (2). 'Although the family had admittedly appropriated temple property, the personal tie between teacher and pupil gave Libanius reason for intervention. As an advocate, rhetor trained, Gaianus could accept this argument with sympathy.'

117 Translator's note: 'Hermeias has appeared in Libanius' pleas to Andronicus, a previous governor for Phoenicia (*Epp.* 151, 225, 271).'

118 Constantius.

119 Translator's note: 'This seems to be a case of the same kind as that in Ammianus (22.9–16).'

120 Libanius, *Ep.* 866, Foerster edn=*Ep.* 105, Norman (1992) edn 2:168–73.

121 See Stewart (1999) for the destruction of statues in Late Antiquity.

122 Sozomen, *HE* 5.10. Trombley (1993) 109, 116 notes that the temple of Zeus—Jupiter in Baalbek or Heliopolis was left standing but made impotent by the placement of the Christian church opposite its entrance.

123 Eusebius, *VC* 3.58 describes the forced closing of the temple of Aphrodite in Heliopolis, ending of cult prostitution there, the building of a church, and the impositon of bishop, priests, and deacons in the city. Sozomen, *HE* 5.10 describes the violence against the 'sacred virgins' in the reign of Julian as a reaction to Constantine's earlier actions. See also Gregory of Nazianzus,Contra *Julianum* 1. 86, 87.

124 Momigliano (1975a) 87–8 has written about the construction of non-Greek ethnicity in the Hellenistic era.

125 The difficulties of the location are described in the report made in 1873 by Roswell D. Hitchcock, President of the Palestine Exploration Society, of the discoveries made by Professor Paine on the promontory overlooking the Nahr el-Kelb; Paine (1873).

126 See 'Proculus 6' in *PLRE* I.746–7. Proculus was Governor of Palestine before becoming Governor of Phoenicia. Proculus is addressed or mentioned in numerous letters and orations of Libanius (complete list in *PLRE*); see Liebeschuetz (1972) for discussion of the orator's relationship with Proculus and his father Tatian.

127 Identification by Mouterde (1932). See 'Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus 5'in *PLRE* I.876–8 for complete career and references in the letters of Libanius, other ancient writers, an inscription giving his *cursus honorum,* and the legal codes. See also A.H.M.Jones (1964) 141, 161, 382, 384, 391, 421, 501, 557, 730 for discussion of Tatian.

128 Zosimus 4.52 suggests that Proculus was executed for political reasons. Then baseless charges were brought against Tatianus and his son Proculus, who had clashed with Rufinus only because as prefects, one praetorian, the other urban, they had exercised their offices without bribery and as conscientiously as possible' (Ridley translation, p. 95). Tatianus was stripped of office and exiled; Proculus was executed by beheading after a protracted trial. Zosimus suggests that the emperor attempted to stay the execution but Rufinus managed to have the messenger delayed. Eunapius fragment 57 (Blockley translation, p. 83) says Tatianus was exiled to Lycia and the son Proculus was put in prison. *Chronicon Paschale* 393 (Whitby translation, pp. 54–5) gives the date of execution of Proculus as 6 December 393 AD, and the place as Sycae.

129 Note by Hajjar (1990a) 2506.

130 See Downey (1961) 688–94 for translation of Libanius, *Oration* 10, 'On the Plethron.'

131 Greek text in Hajjar (1990a) 2506 and my translation. Hajjar notes the previous publication of the inscription with English verse translation in Paine (1873) 112; Weissbach (1922) 38–41; and Mouterde (1932) 14 and as XI on plan (p.3). Mouterde is credited with identification of Proclus. Hajjar fails to note the publication with additional bibliography in *SEG* VII. 195 as *Carmen honorarium, s. IV p* [4th century AD] 'Ad ostium *fluminis Lyci (Nahr el-Kelb)* in rupibus incisum.' The location may have prevented the erasure of the inscription. Hajjar (1990a) 2506 offers the following French translation: 'Ô Proclus, aimable rejeton de l'illustre Tatien de Lycie, délaissant pour peu les rangs élevés des ses ancêtres, un Phénicien d'Héliopolis dans la fleur de l'âge, gouvnerneur par la volonté des dieux. Après avoir fait accomplir par Malek rapidement les rites sacrés autant qu'il le juga prudent pour la Phénicie ellemême et en proportion aussi du but précis a atteindre, il a, 6 grand prodige! aplani au milieu les parties les plus hautes et les plus profondes des falaises et complete le nivellement de la route du début a la fin, afin que nous puissons éviter d'emprunter des hauteurs difficilement praticables.'

132 Jean and Hoftijzer (1960–5) 152–4, lists inscriptions to *MLK* as 'Lord' in these Semitic languages: Phoenician, Punic, Moabite, Hebrew, ancient Aramaic, imperial Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyran, Hatran, and Jewish Aramaic. I am indebted to Dr Michael Zwettler for assistance with this reference. Other definitions are possible, such as 'sacrifice,' but in this context 'Lord' appears the best interpretation.

133 Dr. Fritz Graf, then of the University of Basel, now at The Ohio State University (private conversation in 1995), that it is possible to read (line 5) *aipsa malek teleon hiera* as *aipsa mal' ekteleon hiera,* 'performing thoroughly the sacred rites….' Such an emendation would void the previous conjecture of Hajjar, Mouterde, and others of a reference to a Semitic god *Malek.* I have chosen to follow the usual reading because of other evidence for the persistence of 'Phoenician' paganism and because of the appearance of the term *malek* in other inscriptions. I note also that Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais follows the interpretation of Fritz Graf, as noted in private correspondence, 2003.

134 Inscription published by Mouterde in Lauffray (1944–6) 67 as Inscription 4 with the following comment: 'A l'épithète *malechiabrudenus* comparer la dédicace de Rome *Sa(crum) Aug(usto) Iovi Maleciabrudi* (Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.,* 9.282). Le sens "roi de Yabroûd" de cet ethnique est clair; le dieu est seigneur et roi de la ville où est son temple. Hommage, a Béryte, d'un habitant de l'intérieur.' Mouterde gives the dimensions letters on first line 8 cm; words on second line 4 cm high. Letters of 2nd century AD.

135 G.Clark (1999) 112–13.

136 I have substituted 'Malkus' for 'Malcus' in the English translation as 'Malkus' more closely represents the Greek spelling.

137 Porphyry, *The Life of Plotinus* 17; Armstrong translation 1:46–7.

138 Based on Bëyer (1986) who has full citations for evidence of use and distribution of Aramaic and the related languages.

139 Millar (1993) 294, n.37.

140 Michael the Syrian 2.271 and John of Ephesus, *HE* 3.3.27, *CSCO* 106, *Scriptores Syri* 55:154 bottom (Syriac) attest to the persistence of pagan worship at Heliopolis. See also Bowersock (1990) 36, Chuvin (1990), and Trombley (1993).

141 Malalas 344 (Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott translation, p. 187) says: The emperor Theodosius razed all the shrines of the Hellenes to the ground. He also destroyed the large and famous temple of Helioupolis, known as Trilithon, and made it a church for the Christians.'

142 *Chronicon Paschale* 561 (Whitby translation, p. 50): The celebrated Constantine, while he was emperor, only closed the temples and shrines of the Hellenes; this Theodosius also destroyed them, including the temple of Balanius at Heliopolis, the great and renowned Trilithon, and made it a Christian church.'

143 Grateful acknowledgment is made to Alice-Mary Talbot for the generous sharing of an advance copy of the relevant portions of the translation of the *Prima Vita Matronae* by Jeffrey Featherstone and the introduction to this version by Cyril Mango. Both are from Talbot (1996). Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Professor Wolf Liebeschuetz for his direction to the important study by Topping (1988) and the translation in Bennasser (1984) of *Vita altera Matronae*. All the passage citations are to the edition of the three lives of Matrona in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris,* vol. 3.

144 *Vita Matronae* 1.14 (798 A).

145 *Vita Matronae* 1.14 (798A-C). Topping (1988) 217, n. 52, comments that 'since Anthony the Great, struggle against and conquest of evil spirits in the desert typically preceded the holy man or woman's public career.' Peter Brown (1971) provides the classic analysis of the earthly power emanating from the demonstration of spiritual power. Of course, the biblical narratives of Elias, John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul in the desert inspired such efforts and accounts.

146 *Vita Matronae* 2.20 (818 C). Bennasser translation, 138.

147 These inscriptions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10 on artisans. For most important discussion from a religious viewpoint, see Milik (1972).

148 I have been unable to find a foundation date for this convent published in the literature on this site.

149 Trombley (1993) 1.108–47 has an excellent discussion with relevant bibliographical citations of the conversion of temples to churches or *martyria* in Greece and Syria. Of special interest is the extensive treatment of the 'competition' between church and temple at Baalbek (Heliopolis). See also Gregory (1986) for a study of the transformation of sacred sites in Greece, and Tsafrir (1998) for the fate of cult places in Palestine.

150 *Vita Matronae,* 1.15 (798); Featherstone translation, p. 35.

151 *Vita Matronae,* 1.17 (799); Featherstone translation, p. 36.

152 *Vita Matronae,* 1.17 (799); Featherstone translation, p. 36. 'Constantine had forbidden sacred prostitution at the temple of Aphrodite at Heliopolis and had established a church at Heliopolis with bishop, priests, and deacons.' Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.58.

153 See discussion on pp. 166–70 in the section on conversion.

154 Matrona had abandoned her own child to pursue an ascetic life; see Boswell (1988) for this rather common practice in this period.

155 *Vita Matronae* 1.19, 20 (799–800); Featherstone translation, pp. 38–40.

156 *Cod.Theod.* 16.10.12 (392 AD) specifically forbade the veneration of images. Most of the other rescripts in *Cod.Theod.* 16.10 ban sacrifice.

157 *Cod.Theod.* 16.10.12;Pharr translation, pp. 473–4.

158 *Vita Matronae* 1.20 (800).

159 *Vita Matronae* 2.21 (818).

160 Brackets in this passage are my addition, based on the Greek text.

161 It should be noted that this seemed to be a special occasion, not a daily event.

162 *Vita Matronae* 2.21–22 (818); Bennasser translation pp. 139–41.

163 Lane Fox (1986) 27–101 has an excellent treatment of the relation between pagan cities and cult priests and priestesses. See also Momigliano (1972) for popular religious belief.

164 See section on mosaicists in Chapter 10 for detailed discussion of the mosaics with pagan motifs found in and near Berytus.

165 Possible pagan *praxis* implied in the story of the pagan priestess given above.

8
CHRISTIANITY AS CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

A change in religious identity, especially from non-exclusive to exclusive (such as pagan to Christian), constitutes a profound alteration in self-identity. In Late Antiquity, such conversion reflected many currents within the culture.[1] After the accession of Theodosius there was real legal pressure for conformity to established Christianity. However, there appear to have been other social pressures as well, such as acceptance by peer groups, separation from family units, and the perceived threat of force.[2]

Three narratives of conversion in and near Berytus have survived from the late fifth century AD. One is the famous account of the conversion of Severus, later the Patriarch of Antioch, while he was a law student in Berytus.[3] The other two accounts provide information about founders of monastic houses in the area outside Berytus. Between the two latter stories of ascetic proselytizers, there are striking differences. Matrona, is 'unofficial' and, in a real sense, a fugitive. Rabulas, is very official, with the support of not only the bishop of the city John, but even that of the emperor Zeno. In these three stories, a close analysis of the factors in conversion should reveal some evidence for change in self-identification from pagan to Christian.

Conversion within the city of Berytus

From the narrative of Severus's time in Berytus as a law student in the late fifth century, we learn much about the process of conversion both of pagan students and professors.[4] Severus was 'taught' by his subsequent biographer, Zacharias of Mytilene, who was at the time an older law student. As Trombley sums up the process of 'intellectually inspired conversions,' the 'two foldmethod consisted of getting the Hellene[5] or catechumen to visit one of the local churches, and then of getting him to read Christian texts of high stylistic quality like those of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others.[6]

Zacharias described the moment of conversion which was facilitated by the instructive nature of mosaics or paintings in the Church of the Theotokos:

> As I was telling him this, I was showing him [a picture of) Adam and Eve, for they were depicted in that temple, along with how after the expulsion

> from paradise they were clothed in clothes of skin. Afterward I showed the abundance of sufferings that proceeds from that—the entirety of deception and the strength of demons which willingly we have released when we obey the leader of the revolt… And after the natural law, God gave us the law written by Moses, and by means of many holy prophets. But when he saw that men needed a stronger cure, the Word of God, the Creator God, visited us, having been made man by the will of the Father and by the Holy Spirit… He wished to release us from the power of the slanderer, to whom we have sold our souls, and willingly took the cross upon his body, instead of us. He gave his body to death for a salvation, arose in three days, when he destroyed the tyranny of the slanderer and of the evil demons his helpers, along with the power of death. 'When he raised us with him simultaneously, he made us to sit with him in heaven,' as the Scripture says, and manifested to us the new road of salvation that leads to heaven. And when he conquered the entire habitable earth by means of his disciples, he put an end to the oracles of pagan magic, and sacrifices to demons, established one catholic church in the whole world, and teaches us to repent and seek a refuge in it by means of saving baptism, which is the death, burial for three days and resurrection of the Savior of all who is the Christ.[7]

The conversion process involves persuading the convert to internalize a new self-identity which in turn leads to certain changes in lifestyle. The change in self-identity is both facilitated and maintained by association with persons who have previously been converted from paganism to Christianity. In the case of Severus, although he goes actively to the churches in Berytus, his emotional linkage is with the *philoponoi* rather than with the clergy of the city. This connection is made explicit by his refusal to be baptized in Berytus by the ecclesiastical officials there. Severus's refusal is based in part on the theological 'error' of these officials. It also is based on Severus's growing identification with the self-denial of other 'model' students and with the asceticism of the desert monks.

In response to the pleas of Zacharias and Evagrius that he receive immediate baptism, Severus asked instead to be baptized in Alexandria:

> He said to me, 'You [all] seek me, who after Baptism would be covered with spots.[8] Because I see how, very often, young men are entranced by harlots, and I live in a city that is a fountain of pleasure. Wait until I have finished law school and I will be baptized in Alexandria, where you have assured me that orthodoxy has reigned at all times.'[9]

The reasons offered by Zacharias and Severus for self-identification with the 'holy fathers' of Egypt and Palestine[10] rather than with the bishops of Phoenicia are summarized by Young in her translation of the 'Life of Severus:'

> Severus agreed to be baptized as soon as Zacharias was willing, but the latter refused because he was not in communion with the (Chalcedonian) bishops of Phoenicia, but only with the 'holy fathers of Egypt and Palestine' such as Peter the Iberian, bishop of Maiouma; John, bishop of Sebennytos; and Theodore, bishop of Antinoe, all of whom were *agonistai,* 'athletes,' as Zacharias terms them. The Philoponoi decided collectively that the philosopher, or ascetic, John, resident at the shrine of Leontius in Tripoli, should further catechize and baptize Severus. This he did, and Evagrius was his godfather. Severus did not immediately become a monk, however; he returned to Beirut and continued to pursue legal studies.[11]

Even at the time that Severus was baptized, he was being influenced toward asceticism by the *philoponoi*. Such asceticism is defined as a rejection of indulgence in sensual pleasures. Zacharias makes explicit the requirement to abandon profligate pagan amusements inspired by demonized desires:

> And I said to him, 'If you are willing to believe me, or if you are willing to believe the sacred Scriptures and the universal teachings of the church, first of all avoid the disgraceful public shows, and those where one sees wild beasts fighting poor men. After that, keep your flesh pure and every day, after studying law, offer the evening prayers to God. For it is right for us that we should labor in the evening services of the holy churches while others often pass the evenings playing dice and, seized with drunkenness, drink with prostitutes and completely defile themselves.'[12]

Yet many intellectual 'pagans' such as Julian had long before rejected the attractions of public entertainments as part of philosophical asceticism.

> Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theater lead you into the mistake of craving such spectacles as these. Have you a taste for horse races? There is one in Homer, very skillfully described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear about the dances in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Pheacians the youths dance in more manly fashion.[13]

Although Julian could still delight in the literary abstractions of this kind of performance, Christian ascetics revealed a fear of contamination by participation in such entertainments.[14] Equally they feared demonic temptation and magical practice. Much of the 'Life of Severus' is devoted to the narrative of suppression of prognostication and occult practices in Berytus. The famous case in which magical invocation of the demons nearly prompted murder reveals the basis for revulsion against the temptations of both conjuring and sexual desire.

> All the world thought they would effect a heinous murder. The rumor spread…that they were thinking of sacrificing an Ethiopian slave belonging to the Theban at night at the Hippodrome. According to what they later said about this abominable crime, abhorrent to God, they wished to conciliate the *daimon* that was attached to them and, as they supposed, to get it to accomplish what they planned. Their *general* aim was to commit a crime no matter what. Their *particular* aim was forcibly to procure a certain woman who was then living chastely and with whom the slave's master was hopelessly in love. The cause was erotic love and the violence of the *daimones*. They therefore conducted the slave to the hippodrome in the middle of the night as though for some other purpose. At the moment when they were about to commit the crime, God, who is concerned with what we do, took pity on the unlucky slave and caused other people to enter that place. The culprits took flight, frightened as much by their own audacity as by the improvident incident. Thus the Ethiopian fortuitously got a chance to escape their murderous clutches set on killing him.[15]

The case was resolved in the court of the bishop John as were other incidents of divination. The persons involved in the practice of divination were 'rescued' from their dalliance with demons.[16] Zacharias sums up the role of Severus as a warrior against paganism in Berytus and other cities:

> We have demonstrated sufficiently that the continual servant of God and high priest Severus could not have been taken in the act of offering pagan sacrifices or devoting himself to magic… This high priest of God was, in fact, in Alexandria and Phoenicia with those who, with the sole strength of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, were taking action against pagans, magicians, and pagan gods. Especially was he with them in Phoenicia, because he already had acquired the practical philosophy from imitating Evagrius, and because he knew better knowledge and *theoria* of doctrines after he had diligently read the writings of the church writers.[17]

The inclination toward asceticism which was nurtured in Berytus by association with the *philoponoi* bloomed more fully in later years. After visits to the shrine of Leontius in Tripoli, Severus made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to the anti-Chalcedonian monasteries of southern Palestine west of Gaza. Severus even joined the very rigorous monastery founded by Peter the Iberian in which the monks fasted, used the earth as a bed, stood upright all day, gave the entire night to watchfulness, and in other ways subdued the body. Zacharias describes his time there:

> [Severus] clothed himself in the monastic habit instead of the toga [of the lawyer]; he served divine books instead of legal ones; instead of labors at the law court he chose the labors of monastic life and philosophy. Little by

> little the divine grace proclaimed him rhetor for religion and anointed him chief priest of Antioch the great city.[18]

Thus for Severus and other law students in Berytus the process of conversion to Christianity, or change in religious self-identification, involved the use of philosophic and legal argumentation as a persuasive tool, combat against demonic forces and magical practices, and denial of physical desires to the point of extreme asceticism. Initially very attached to the possibility of a successful law career, Severus came to accept the role of monk and then of ecclesiastical leader. Although a native of Pisidia, his ties to the areas of Alexandria, Berytus, Gaza, and Antioch may have influenced him to identify himself as a 'Syrian.' His fine education and fluency in at least Latin and Greek might have caused him to think of himself as one of the *literati;* yet Zacharias says explicitly that he rejected such pretensions. Severus appears to have acted from motives of conscience. He chose to conform to the traditional ascetic categories of the desert monks of Egypt and Syria.[19] Eventually, the mental toughness shaped by combat with demons in Berytus and by the self-denial of the desert years would cause him to identify himself as a man who could stand alone in a theological debate. In many ways, although his change in self-identity began in company of the *philoponoi,* like so many other ascetics of Late Antiquity, he mastered the technique of 'being alone together.' Such emotional rigor produced 'atomized' individuals[20] who could resist the claims of family units, the appeal of traditional careers marked by wealth and status, and the call for theological unity from church councils.[21]

Conversion outside the city of Berytus: the monastic phenomenon

Two accounts of the establishment of monastic institutions near Berytus allow a comparison of the conversion experiences associated with the monastic movement and with proselytization within the city. The self-identification of both the missionaries and of the new converts may be visible within the narratives as well.

The first account concerns a monk on an imperial mission. In the time of Zeno the emperor (479–91), Saint Rabulas Samosatensis gained a reputation for establishing monasteries and came to convert pagans in Phoenicia.[22]

> Our holy father Rabulas was born in the city of the Samosatans and he was educated by a certain Baripsaba, a very highly honored man. Having learned the language of the Syrians and having pursued all virtue from his youth, [Rabulas] entered upon a solitary life. And he lived alone in the mountains and in the caves after the manner of the great Elias and John the Baptist. After being some time in Phoenicia, he gained greater fame than any other for his virtues, revealed by his great deeds although he did not

> wish it. Wherefore also by the aid of Zeno the emperor and with the cooperation of John the bishop, he made a great monastery in the middle of the mountains. Exactly as Paul and Barnabas had, as even Peter and John had spoken, so Rabulas and those with him spoke amid the pagans [consulters of idols], both by disputation and by admonition. After a short while they converted all those inhabitants there toward a knowledge of God. This first work of the blessed one gave him honor.[23]

The notable elements of this narrative are the deliberate acquisition of the Syrian language, the emphasis on persuasive preaching as a conversion tool, the (financial) support of the emperor, and the supervision of John, Bishop of Berytus. The location of the huge monastery in the middle of a mountain near Berytus[24] cannot be deduced from existing evidence, and the lasting impact of his conversions is not revealed by written record.

In this account Rabulas can be seen as an 'activist ascetic' because of his efforts to attract pagans to Christianity. Such contact with non-ascetics was frequently shunned. He used his rhetorical talents of 'admonition' and 'disputation.' The training in the 'language of the Syrians' would indicate a conscious decision to communicate with the rural inhabitants of Phoenicia. The description of these pagans as 'consulters of idols' may indicate only the continuation of their religion or it may suggest an attempt to 'foreknow' the future.[25]

So in the account of Rabulas, although initially it might seem different from that of Zacharias, some of the self-identifiers are the same: a 'teacher' converts non-believers to an ascetic type of Christianity. The tools of conversion are similar; 'disputation,' 'admonition,' and 'great deeds.'

In the other account of a saint who converts pagans, the identity of the saint has important differences. Matrona was born about 425 AD in Perge, a major city of Pamphylia. Traveling to Constantinople with her husband and child, she developed a longing for monastic life. In Constantinople she entered a monastery, concealing her identity as a woman by disguising herself as a eunuch. She was sent to a convent at Emesa but left to escape her husband Domitianus who was pursuing her. When he found her, she asked for three days to go to Sinai to pray but went instead to an empty temple outside Berytus. There she gathered a small group of ascetic women by her teaching and combating of demons. Upon her return to Constantinople she was able to establish a monastery for women (from about 457 AD) with the moral support of her original abbot there and the financial support of one of her converts in the capital.

Details of the life of the saint are given in three Greek versions, known as the *Vita Prima, Vita Altera,* and the *Vita Tertia*.[26] Details of conversion will be drawn from the first and second accounts which have been translated into English;[27] the third version is only a brief synopsis of the first two *vitae*. The *Life of Matrona* provides interesting evidence for several aspects of Late Antique religion and the role of women. For example, several studies have focused on

Matrona's disguising herself as a man and later being granted the privilege of wearing a habit which had a male belt.[28] Other studies have analyzed the evidence in Matrona's story for the development of monasteries for women in Constantinople and for the establishment of the cult of the head of John the Baptist.

However, the issues of interest for this study relate specifically to the episodes in and near Berytus. The 'Life of Matrona' provides much information about such important issues as the conversion of sacred space (temple to monastery), the reaction of the devotees of the pagan deity no longer being propitiated, and the interaction between 'desert' and 'city,' and these were discussed above. The focus in this section will be on the conversion of several pagan women, including a priestess, to Christian ascetics.

The unifying theme throughout Matrona's story is her desire to escape from her husband's marital demands and from the responsibility of motherhood in order to achieve an ascetic lifestyle and to gain union with God. The abandonment of her daughter is somewhat reminiscent of the important study by Boswell of medieval donation to monasteries of children as a response to overpopulation, economic hardship, death of parents, and other factors.[29] However, Topping is right in suggesting that the giving away of the child is an attempt for Matrona to be free from family responsibilities and to thereby enter into the more powerful role of 'male monk.'[30]

> Again, when Matrona learned this, and that her pursuer[31] was near and she was in danger, she became oppressed with a great fear. She went to an idol's temple near Beirut and stayed there, since she thought that to encounter demons and wild beasts was better than being taken by Domitianus. For if they [the demons] caught [her] they would harm only the body. But if her husband caught [her] he would be more deadly than demons and wild beasts, for he would destroy her body and soul at the same time. He would drag her back to the things of the world and claim her as his wife.[32]

The ascetic life is an 'escape mechanism' for Matrona from the traditional womanly role.[33] Although the hagiographer stressed Matrona's lonely battle against demons in the deserted temple, Matrona enjoyed real success as a 'holy man' who could work wonders, draw crowds, preach, teach, and make converts. The power of Matrona's sanctity attracted seekers from the city and elsewhere. The story of the conversion of a young woman told below is typical of the other conversions (this account precedes the conversion of the priestess):

> But thereafter there was talk of her in Beirut, and many went out unto her, both men and women, and especially noblewomen, for in a few days report of her had spread everywhere. All told of how her angelic way of life and splendid purity had routed the demons in the temple and put them to flight.

> Now, among the many who came together to see her and receive her blessing, there came also a certain woman with her daughter, whose name was Sophrone. When this Sophrone, then, saw the blessed Matrona, she was moved to compunction, and could not bear to leave the blessed one or follow her mother, saying, 'From henceforth is this holy one both mother and father to me.' Though her mother did her utmost and pressed her, that she should at least take leave of her own family, she would in no wise assent to depart. On this ground did other daughters of heathen <parents> also attach themselves to the blessed Matrona: coming to her they fell down at her knees, crying, and said to her, 'Deliver us, holy mother, from the vanity of the idols and deception of the demons, and lead us unto the God you serve.' Receiving them the blessed one first tempered their bodily habits and then, once she had strengthened their spiritual reasoning and prepared them, over the course of many days, for the hope that lies in store for Christians, she would have the rites of chrismation and baptism performed upon them. Keeping these women, together with the first one, and teaching them letters and poring over scripture with them, especially the blessed David, she made them children of God.[34]

Matrona shares some of the characteristics of Rabulas and Zacharias as converter of pagans: her rhetorical talent in instructing others in the faith,[35] her power to perform wondrous acts against demons, her personal asceticism as revealed by very restricted diet, and her ability to teach both men and women.

But the story of Matrona has another dimension beyond that of the stories of the male ascetics. A major part of the story concerns the change in identity that was necessary for women who abandoned the traditional role of wife and mother. Such a rejection of the expected feminine identity caused both sorrow and anger in the parents of the young female converts. This is revealed in the story of Sophrone narrated above and in the account of the reactions of the parents of the pagan priestess. Euche's parents saw her conversion as an abandonment of joy and an acceptance of dreariness.[36]

Another dimension of the Matrona story involves her interactions with the established church in Berytus. Although she has assumed the role of desert ascetic who was permitted to teach pagans, she must defer to the officials of the ecclesiastical structure for assistance with 'sealing' the converts in the faith.

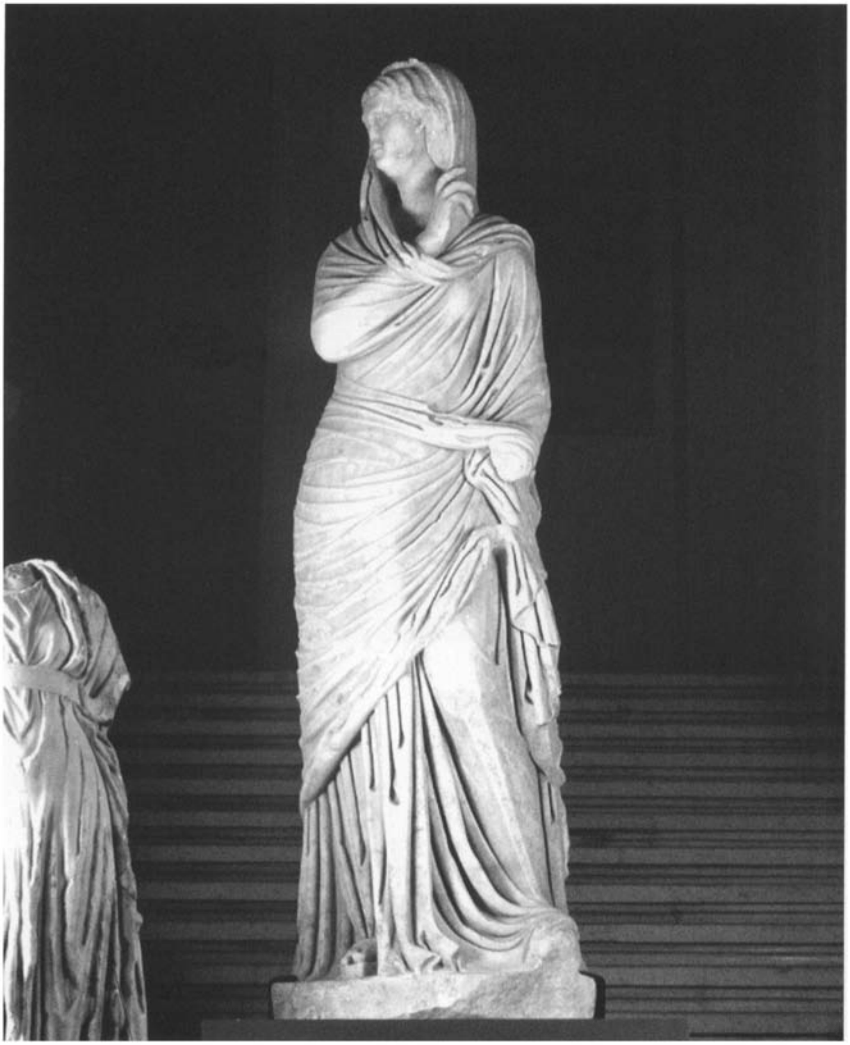
> Then the blessed Matrona took the maiden who had been converted and gave her into the hands of the priest, deacon, and deaconess, saying to them, 'I pray your Holinesses, take this humble maiden, that she might now turn aside from the error of the idols. When you have instructed her and baptized her, bring her back to me here.' Taking her the clerics conducted her to the church. Then, when they had instructed her after the fashion of the Christians and baptized her, they took the disciple back to the teacher; and she remained with her, in the company of the other maidens who had



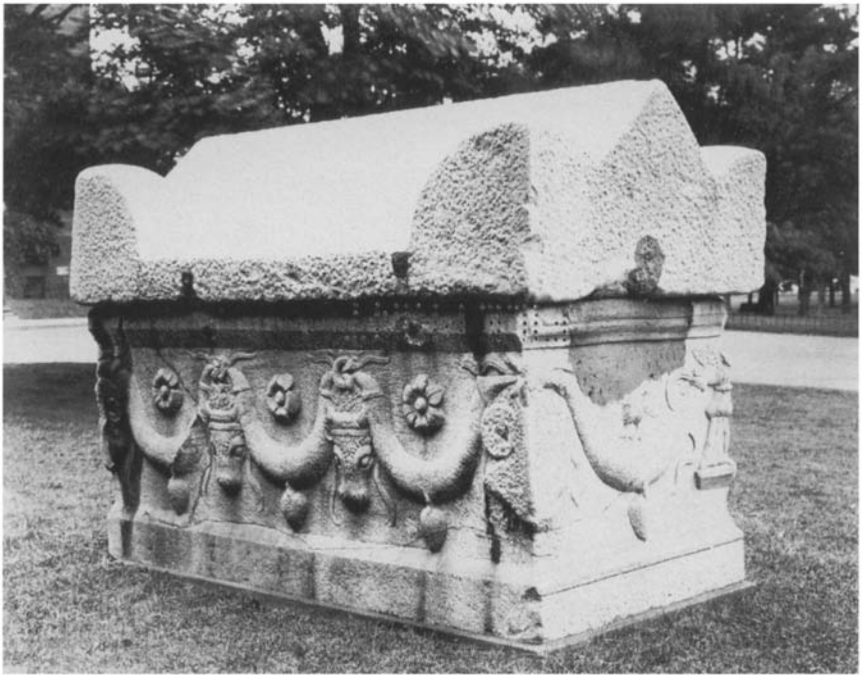
1 Ionian lamp from Beirut



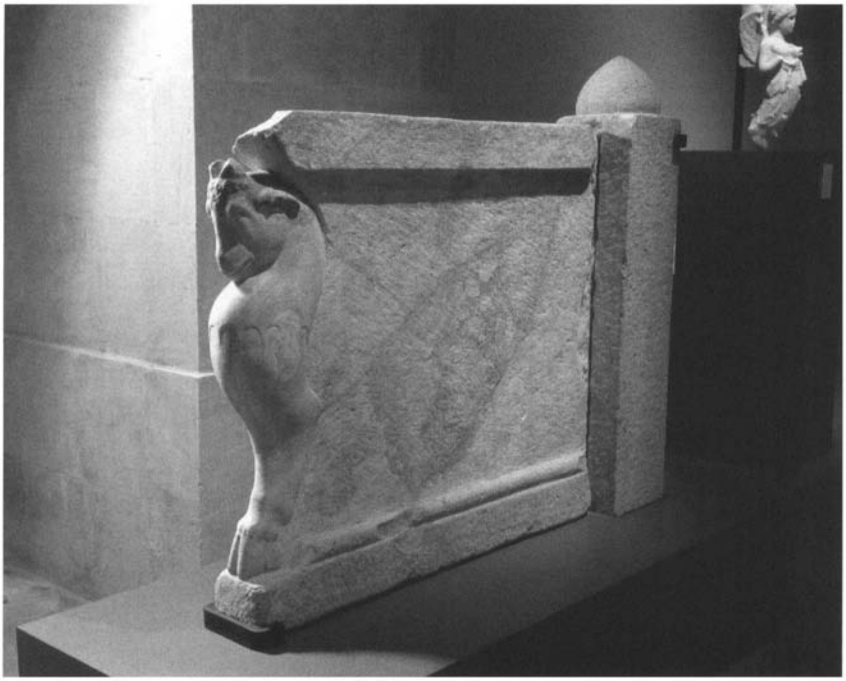
2 Coin from Beirut, Maximinus, third century AD



3 Statue of a woman found in the environs of Beirut



4 Sarcophagus from Beirut



5 Chancel from a church in Beirut



6 Inscription for Metaxia the *kalligraphissa*



7 The Jealousy mosaic



8 Gold medallion of the emperor Justinian



A ANS1944.100.70218; Obverse, head of Augustus, r.; inscribed 1. to r., IMP CAESAR AUGUSTUS, fillet border; Reverse, Founder, veiled, ploughing to 1. with ox and cow; inscribed above COL IVL, first century AD.

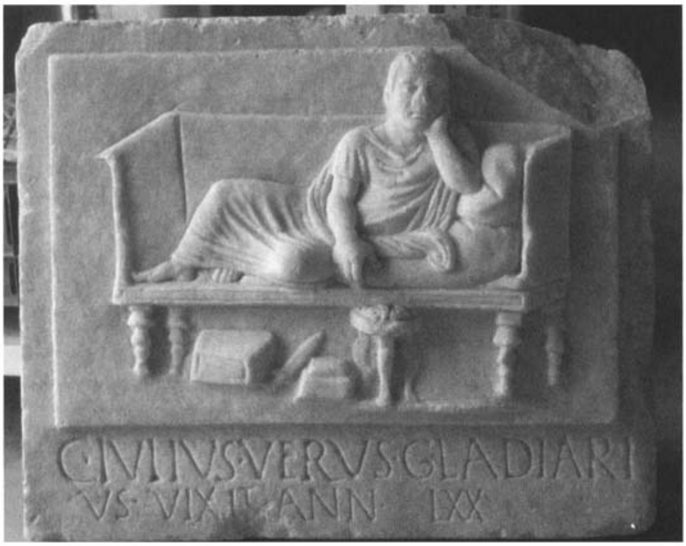


B ANS1944.100.72325; Obverse, bust of Julia Domna, r., draped, hair falling on neck; Reverse, Astarte, facing, r. holding standard, 1. holding folds of dress; within tetrastyle temple with stairs, to r., Nike on small column crowning, second century AD.



C ANS1944.100.72444; Obverse, bust of Gordian III, r.; laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; Reverse, 2 legionary eagles; between them COL BER in 2 lines, third century AD.

9 Three coins from Beirut



10 Relief of a *gladiarius*

> come before her, and received all manner of spiritual instruction. The blessed one gave her the name Euche [Prayer]. Several other women joined as well, so that there were eight in all.[37]

The cooperation of the clergy from the church(es) in the city with an ascetic saint in a monastic setting suggests both that the city establishment approved of Matrona's 'preaching' and that she acceded to their authority in the process of 'sealing' the conversion by further instruction and baptism.

The inclusion of a deaconess as part of the 'conversion team' and the entrusting to deaconesses of the small flock of nuns are consistent with the role for a deaconess described in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* a document of fourth-century Syria:

> And let the deaconess be honored by you as an image of the Holy Spirit. She should do or say nothing without the deacon, as the Comforter does not act or speak on its own, but glorifies Christ and awaits his will. And as we do not believe in Christ apart from the teaching of the Spirit, so let no woman approach the deacon or the bishop without the deaconess.[38]

Possibly the deacon led prayers in the church in Berytus for the conversion of the pagan priestess as well as for other catechumens. John Chrysostom describes such a role for the deacon elsewhere in the Greek East of the fourth century:

> Therefore church law enjoins that there be prayers for the catechumens as well as for the faithful, for when the deacon says, 'Let us pray earnestly for the catechumens,' he stirs up the whole assembly of the faithful to pray for them, although the catechumens are still outsiders. For they are not yet of the body of Christ, they have not yet partaken of the mysteries, but are still separated from the spiritual flock.[39]

When Matrona decided to depart from Berytus, she had to find a way to care for the followers whom she had converted to the ascetic lifestyle. She related to her ascetic 'sisters' the vision which guided her in her decision. In the dream, Alexander, Antiochus, and Constantine had competed for her as wife; the lot fell to Constantine. Matrona interpreted the vision to mean that she should return to Constantinople rather than to Alexandria or Antioch.

> Relating the vision to the sisters who were with her, she saw that they opposed her plan…'You should ponder to whom you will leave us after your departure.' At once she made their situation clear to the bishop. She asked that two deaconesses, whose virtue time had confirmed be sent to her. When they [the deaconesses] arrived, she entrusted them with the women who were under her responsibility. She greatly exhorted them to watch carefully over the souls handed over to them 'so that,' she said,

> 'those whom God has prepared to leave the world are not again abandoned to return to the vanity of the world and to neglect their covenants.' Having said these things and embraced them [the sisters], she took only one of them, the nun Sophrone, with her and went on board of the vessel which set sail, in favorable wind, to Constantinople.[40]

In all three stories there are common characteristics for the converts and the proselytizers. The pagans were depicted as devoted to magic in the 'Life of Severus' but no longer paid any public reverence to statues of the gods. The continued veneration of idols or statues is suggested in the account of Matrona and perhaps implied in the story of Rabulas. Conversion was aided by physical representation in religious art in Berytus. In the countryside the 'deeds' of the holy ascetics provided living paradigms of virtue.

In all three settings the eloquence of the persuaders is described in terms that show high regard for traditional education and rhetoric. Only Rabulas is specifically attested as speaking 'the language of the Syrians,' be it Syriac, Aramaic or some other language. The importance of the organized, established church in Berytus is affirmed by the bishop's handling of the case against practitioners of divination,[41] by the bishop's support of Rabulas, and by the church's role in the catechism, baptism, and protection of Matrona's converts.

So the converts must have felt that they were moving toward inclusion in an increasingly powerful religion, which enjoyed interaction with the established church in Berytus, and in the case of Rabulas, the clear direction of the emperor. Even when conversion involved abandoning a family or an ambition, it involved in all three stories moving into a community of believers who were bound by their determination to excel in ascetic practices. Such self-identification must have meant a sense of attempting to live on a higher plane[42] than was obtained by Christians who went about their normal lives.[43]

The proselytizers must have felt a sense of power as warriors against the forces of demons and magical practice. The control over their own bodies and influence over the emotions and thoughts of their followers must have given them a sense of rightness in a world that otherwise seemed uncontrollable. Such confidence in their ability to know the truth undoubtedly equipped them with courage and even arrogance for future conflicts in their religious careers. Rabulas and Matrona founded monastic houses in Constantinople; Severus became Patriarch of Antioch. Their self-definition as contenders for the faith, shaped by their experiences in and near Berytus, undoubtedly emboldened them to deal with emperors and other opponents.

The reality of the religious milieu of Berytus may be implied by the fact that these three proselytizers all moved on to more 'Christian' areas, such as Constantinople and Antioch. It is difficult to ascertain the lasting impression that they made in Berytus. Although there were monastic houses for both men and women in the area, it is not at all clear that their existence has been continuous. Furthermore, there is much evidence for the persistence of paganism in and

around Berytus. So although Severus, Matrona, and Rabulas defeated pagans in the hagiographical narratives, it seems likely that pagans resisted conversion quietly and effectively for a long time.

The Late Antique church in Berytus and the construction of group identity

In Berytus, Christianization does not appear to have progressed particularly rapidly. Even in the late fifth century there is evidence of paganism from various accounts. As elsewhere in the empire, those persons in Berytus who saw themselves as Christians seem to have been caught up in the theological controversies of the fourth through sixth centuries.[44] Christians with widely divergent views of the nature of Christ, the Father, the Virgin Mary, demons and angels, and other doctrinal intricacies saw themselves as 'correct' and denounced the 'misguided' ones who disagreed. Although the churches had powerful weapons for shaping uniformity of opinion, it is clear from a study of a Late Antique city like Berytus that conformity of belief was difficult to achieve. There is persistent evidence that not only did the leadership of Berytus disagree with the leadership of nearby cities, but also there was disagreement within the city itself between the leaders and the people, and even among the leadership. Thus, to say that coastal cities were uniformly Monophysite will not hold up even for one city.[45] Furthermore, to categorize the Christians of Berytus as uniformly Syrian will not hold up because clearly there were many who saw themselves as Phoenician or identified themselves in other ethnic categories.

In this section I will present the evidence for the growth and power of the church. Some of the evidence will of necessity focus on the establishment of the church and on the power of the bishops, yet there is also evidence for the power of popular opinion in the Late Antique city. Christians in Berytus were subject to influences not only from the leaders of the city, but also from pilgrims and religious leaders traveling south from Constantinople and Antioch or traveling north from Alexandria. In fact, even influences from the interior of Syria can be recognized in aspects of Christian belief and practice at Berytus. The great centers of theological debate were the bishoprics of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. Berytus was in range of intersecting ripples spreading from stones cast in these centers. Indeed, it is probable that the spirit of debate which legal training fostered and the diversity of the students' backgrounds actually made Berytus more susceptible to religious disagreement.

The churches of Berytus

In fact, it is in the sermons and teachings of the Christian orators,[46] in religious inscriptions,[47] in the account of the splendor of the churches,[48] in the archeological evidence for wealth expended on the construction and beautification of churches in and near Berytus, as elsewhere in Syria, that the

power of Christianity can be detected. From the 'Life of Severus,' we hear of at least four or five churches, known as the Anastasia,[49] the Theotokos,[50] the Church of Saint Judas,[51] and a 'second *martyrion*'[52] which may be in addition to the one dedicated to Saint Stephen, the first martyr.[53]

The earliest attested church is that which was burned in the reign of Julian by Vindaonius but rebuilt in the reign of Jovian by the same man.[54] Although neither the name nor the date of the church is given, it is possible that this church had been built in the time of Constantine, perhaps by Anastasia, the sister of Constantine. In the references to the building the name is given as Anastasia, not Anastasis or the Syriac word for 'resurrection' as is usually the case elsewhere. Several facts make this a tempting identification. Eusebius of Nicomedia was bishop of Berytus until he departed for Nicomedia in 317 AD.[55] Anastasia was married to Bassianus, a prominent wealthy Roman who was nearly appointed Caesar in 315–16 AD by Constantine but was abruptly disgraced. Perhaps Anastasia built this church in Berytus either as an imperial favor before the disgrace or afterwards as a way to blot it out. It should be noted that her sister Constantia was instrumental in the recall of Arius.[56]

The Anastasia church has been identified as the cathedral of Eustathius from a reference dated to 460 AD.[57] However, it was not uncommon for bishops to retain a popular name for a church, even when it was rebuilt or replaced. The cathedral which Eustathius built before 449 AD was described in the *Disputatio de Mundi Opificio,* a dialogue between Zacharias the lawyer and biographer of Severus and a student who had come to Berytus for the study of law. The student, described in the introduction as a follower of paganism or Hellenism, was invited to the church by Zacharias who would instruct him. There are numerous allusions to the aesthetic appeal of the building; the ten gleaming white columns and the beautiful paintings are meant not only to impress but to convert the pagan student.[58]

The evident pride in the workmanship and expenditure required to erect such a magnificent cathedral, coupled with the pride associated with the high position of the archbishop Eustathius, suggest that this building may have rivaled some of the elaborate churches built in Tyre or Constantinople. For example, the use of marble, cedar beams, and mosaics in the cathedral at Tyre, as described by Eusebius, may have been emulated in this cathedral at Berytus.[59] Archeological finds of chancels carved to resemble the Arabian ibex[60] and architraves sculpted with stylized flora[61] suggest that exotic fauna and stereotypical flora may have been commissioned to decorate the furnishings and the interiors of the churches in Berytus.

As part of the story of the conversion of Severus, Zacharias provided us with additional details about the church of the Theotokos.

> And after prayer, I was walking in front of that same church; after a little while, that man of God, as he came up to me, joyfully greeted me and said, 'God sent you to this city because of me. Tell me how to be saved

> correctly.'… And I said to him, 'Because you have sought the matters of religion, come to me,' as I took him by the hand, 'and I will take you to the temple of the Theotokos, and there I will tell you things from the sacred Scriptures and I will teach you the holy fathers.'… When I said that I had brought many of their treatises, he came with me to the temple of the Theotokos… I then began from the Book of Creation… As I was telling him this, I was showing him [a picture of] Adam and Eve, for they were depicted in that temple, along with how after the expulsion from paradise they were clothed in clothes of skin. Afterward I showed the abundance of sufferings that proceeds from that—the entirety of deception and the strength of demons which willingly we have released when we obey the leader of the revolt.[62]

The church seems to have been ornamented either with murals or mosaics which represented the Fall of Adam and Eve in the garden. The importance of this church is suggested in several ways. It was decorated with well-executed art, it was centrally located, and it was visited regularly by the law students (we are told later that they went there every evening for services).[63] Its importance is made more explicit in the story of the government's actions against practitioners of magic when books of magic were burned in front of the Church of the Theotokos.[64] It appears that civic actions have been transferred from a secular building to a religious building. Such a transfer of judicial action suggests a transfer of political power as well.[65]

The Church of St Judas, the brother of James the Just, is mentioned in two sources. The first reference occurs in a letter written by Severus in which he just briefly mentioned the church in Berytus:

> In fact even Peter the bishop of holy memory from Iberia prayed in the house of the chapel of the glorious holy martyr and apostle Judas the brother of James, who is laid at Berytus (in the same fashion he prayed also at Tripolis in the house of the chapel of the holy victory-clad martyr Leontius).[66]

In the description given above, the 'house of the chapel of the glorious martyr and apostle Judas 'who is laid to rest at Berytus' suggests a *martyrion*.[67] The second reference to the Church of St Judas in Berytus, given in the following text from the 'Life of Severus,' also seems to imply a *martyrion*.

> Having finished our meal, we returned to the very venerable church (temple) of the holy apostle Judas, the brother of James the Just, who were the two sons of Joseph, the husband of the holy Virgin, always a virgin, Mary, Mother of God, and who were called for that reason the brothers of our Lord.[68]… Acertain Kosmas was the priest and guardian *(paramonarios)* of this church. He feared God with ardor and acquitted

> himself in his service with diligence. He was an ascetic who was adorned with all the virtues of Christianity and who exercised justly the title of divine ministry. With him was found John of Palestine, surnamed *eudranes* (the active?)[69]… Menas of Cappadocia, who was studying also at this time the civil law *(jus civile)*[70] was a recent rival in zeal to him [John]. In this temple (church) he wore regularly the monastic habit and he proposed to return thus to his city of Caesarea and to be admitted into the ranks of their clergy.[71]

In this passage, the Syriac word for 'church'[72] is the term for a very elaborate and large building. The term implies an impressive building and may indicate that it was larger than either the church of the Anastasia or the church of the Theotokos. Since the church is also described as a shrine of the Apostle Judas, the real possibility emerges that this church was one of the massive structures built to proclaim the city as an apostolic foundation.[73]

The dedication to 'the holy apostle Judas, the brother of James the Just, who were the two sons of Joseph, the husband of the holy Virgin, always a virgin, Mary, Mother of God, and who were called for that reason the brothers of our Lord' echoes the view of Epiphanius (bishop of Salamis in Cyprus from 367 AD).[74] Jesus's brothers (James, Judas, Joseph, and Simon)[75] and his sisters were considered children of Joseph by a prior marriage by some theologians. In this interpretation, which was widely accepted in the Late Antique Greek East, Mary was the virginal wife of the elderly Joseph and gave birth only to Christ.[76] Yet the 'brothers of Jesus,' even though they were not initially believers in him,[77] were considered subsequently to have obtained a special measure of goodness by propinquity to divinity.[78]

The clear reference in both the 'Life of Severus' and in his correspondence to a *martyrion* for St Judas, the brother of Jesus, suggest that Berytus claimed to be an 'apostolic foundation.' Indeed the story of the burial of St Judas, also known as Thaddeus, at Berytus has been preserved in several versions. One variant of the story, given in an account attributed to S.Hippolytus Portuensis, reports that Judas, also called Lebbaeus, preached the gospel to the people of Edessa and all Mesopotamia, died at Berytus, and was buried there.[79] The predominant version, echoed in Eusebius, *HE* 1.13, was that Judas (equated to Thaddeus and Thomas) was involved in the evangelization of Edessa and was buried in Armenia.[80] Since Eusebius made no mention at all of the church in Berytus, the account of Judas as apostle and martyr at Berytus must have developed after 325 AD. The story which placed Judas in both cities may have fueled a spirit of religous competiton between Edessa and Berytus.

Two other references may help date the *martyria* of Berytus. In 386 AD the *Augusti* Gratian and Honorius issued an edict concerning *martyria:*

> No person shall transfer a buried body to another place. No person shall sell the relics of a martyr; no person shall traffic in them. But if anyone of

> the saints has been buried in any place whatever, persons shall have it in their power to add whatever building they may wish in veneration of such a place [or in veneration of the saint], and such building must be called a martyry.[81]

The wording of the law forbids the removal of a martyr's bones from one site to another (although many were moved, especially to Constantinople). The law reflects the growing interest in establishing *martyria* in the late fourth century for the enshrinement of sanctity and as a focus of urban religious veneration.[82]

Literary evidence for the conversion of temples to *martyria* in Phoenicia may be gleaned from the *Oracle of Baalbek,* written in Heliopolis between 502 and 506 AD.[83] The text says in the time of Marcian and Theodosius that some pagan temples became *martyria:*[84]

> And after this there will arise two kings, Marcianus (Gratianus?) and Theodosius, mighty dynasts, warriors and righteous judges, teachers of the faith, and they will destroy the forsaken temples of the pagans [Hellenes], and the temples of the Gentiles will be transformed into tombs of the saints.[85]

The apocalyptic writer states that some temples would be destroyed (perhaps those already abandoned?) and that others would be converted to *martyria*. The good state of preservation of pagan temples at both Heliopolis[86] and Deir el-Qalaa[87] argues for conversion rather than destruction at these sites. Other literary evidence[88] also confirms that the pagan temples at both sites survived to a relatively late period.

Other churches, in addition to the ones described above, undoubtedly were scattered in and around Berytus. Although the earthquake and tidal wave may have damaged these ecclesiastical structures, we can visualize the churches of Berytus from the excavations of churches at nearby Khan Khaldé[89] and Beit Meri,[90] the impressive ruined church since disassembled at Heliopolis,[91] the beautiful mosaic floor from the church at Qabr Hiram (now in the Louvre),[92] and indeed from the ruins of so many churches found in such quantity in Syria dating from the fourth through the sixth centuries.[93]

Inside the churches the liturgy created an atmosphere of beauty and serenity.[94] Light flickered off the silk hangings; gold gleamed from fabric and mosaic; paintings and mosaics pictured the biblical narratives and characters.[95] Hymns composed by an innovative 'melode,' such as Romanus,[96] praised the transcendence of God and summoned his angels. The sermons, given in Greek and perhaps translated into Syriac, reassured and instructed the faithful about the mysteries of salvation and resurrection.[97] The reading of Scripture and the communal prayers, as well as the other shared acts of worship, offered a sense of peace in a world populated with demons and other inexplicable terrors:

> And when the deacon bids you to pray all together, he also enjoins you in his prayer to ask for the Angel of Peace, and that everything which concerns you be blessed with peace. As he dismisses you from the assembly, he petitions [peace] for you and says: 'Go in peace.' And without this peace, it is altogether impossible for us to say or do anything. For peace is our nurse and mother, she is very careful to cherish us and foster us. I am not speaking of what is merely called by the name of peace, nor of the peace which comes from sharing meals together, but of the peace which accords with God, the peace which comes from the harmony sent by the Spirit.[98]

From Egeria's account of her travels to the Holy Land in the fourth century AD, we have explicit evidence for translation of the Greek liturgy and hymns into Latin and a Semitic language, perhaps Aramaic or Syriac. Although she was describing the situation in Jerusalem, it is possible that a similar situation existed in other churches along her journey which took her to Edessa, deep into the Syriac-speaking heartland.[99] Egeria found multilingual communication worthy of comment; more 'sophisticated' writers may have taken such interchange for granted.[100]

> In this province [Palestine] there are some people who know both Greek and Syriac, but others know only one or the other. The bishop may know Syriac,[101] but he never uses it. He always speaks in Greek, and has a presbyter beside him who translates the Greek into Syriac, so that everyone can understand what he means. Similarly the lessons read in church have to be read in Greek, but there is always someone in attendance to translate into Syriac so that the people understand. Of course there are also people here who speak neither Greek nor Syriac, but Latin. But there is no need for them to be discouraged, since some of the brothers or sisters who speak Latin as well as Greek will explain things to them. And what I admire and value most is that all the hymns and antiphons and readings they have, and all the prayers the bishop says, are always relevant to the day which is being observed and to the place in which they are used. They never fail to be appropriate.[102]

The testimony of Egeria documents not only the beauty of the services but also the presence of speakers of several languages in one service. It is known that John Chrysostom was similarly provided with translators for his sermons in Antioch and Constantinople.[103] It is reasonable to suppose that a comparable situation existed in Berytus as well. The city had both a need of translators for its many visitors, and a supply of polyglot speakers from the residents or other visitors. Undoubtedly, language and its attendant culture created smaller groups within the larger audience. Perhaps the listeners drew close to their interpreters to catch the meaning of the sermon and discussed the fine points in their most

fluent language as they left. Such linguistic community tends to affect other aspects of self-identity, even in a religious setting.

Bishops of Berytus

Epiphanius, who was bishop in nearby Salamis on Cyprus from 367 to 403, recorded the name of perhaps the first bishop of Berytus and associated him with the apostle Paul. 'Quartus, whom Paul mentioned in his epistle to the Romans, became bishop at Berytus.'[104]

This Quartus was named in Romans 16:23, along with other members of the church at Corinth, who sent greetings to the church at Rome. It should be noted that Quartus was a very common Roman name, and it may reflect either the Romanization of names in Corinth or may suggest a transplanted Roman. The linking of his name to that of Erastus, a prominent personage in Corinth, might indicate either that Quartus was also an important person in Corinth or that he served Erastus in some function.

> Timotheus, my fellow worker, and Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, greet you. I, Tertius, who wrote the letter, greet you in the Lord. Gaius, my host and the host of the whole church, greets you. Erastus, the steward of the city, and the brother Quartus, greet you.[105]

Only a few details are given in the entry in the *Synaraxarion* for November 10 in which Quartus appears among several other saints (some of whom may be identical with those listed above). 'On the tenth of this month, for the commemoration of the holy apostles, out of the seventy: Olympas, Rhodionus, Sosipater, Tertius, Erastus and Quartus.'[106]

In an explanatory entry describing the final fate of each of these saints; the following reference is made to Quartus: 'Quartus became bishop of Beirut, suffered many things on account of his piety, converted many Hellenes to the Lord, died, and he is in peace.'[107] This tradition of veneration for Quartus as first bishop was long-maintained. Maundrell, in his visit to a church in Beirut prior to 1697, reported seeing a painting labeled as Quartus, the supposed first bishop of Berytus:

> *Κύαρτος πρῶτος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βηρύτυ*
>
> Quartus first archbishop of Berytus[108]

A competing story is told for the selection of the first bishop. In this account Peter selected the first bishop from among the elders who traveled with him on a missionary journey which included stops in Sidon, Tyre, Berytus, Byblos, and Tripolis. This story is preserved in the narrative commonly called the *PseudoClementines,* and it appears to be an expansion of the account in the book

of Acts about the conversions in Phoenicia by Paul. These competing accounts may reflect a tension between followers of Peter and of Paul:

> 9.1. Immediately after the arrival of Peter in Berytus an earthquake took place; and people came to Peter saying: 'Help, for we greatly fear that we shall all together perish!' 2. Then Simon dared, along with Appion, Annubion, Athenodorus and his other comrades, to turn against Peter in the presence of all the people: 'Flee, ye people, from this man; 3. for he is a magician—you may believe me—and has himself occasioned this earthquake and has caused these diseases to frighten us, as if he himself was a god!' 4. And many other false charges of this sort did Simon and his followers bring against Peter, suggesting that he possessed superhuman power. 5. As soon as the multitude gave him a hearing, Peter with a smile and an impressive directness spoke the words: 'Ye men, I admit that, God willing, I am capable of doing what these men here say and in addition am ready, if you will not hear my words, to turn your whole city upside down.'
>
> 10.1. Now when the multitude took alarm and readily promised to carry out his commands, Peter said: 'Let no one of you associate with these magicians or in any way have intercourse with them.' 2. Scarcely had the people heard this summons when without delay they laid hold of cudgels and pursued these fellows till they had driven them completely out of the city…
>
> 12.2. After he had stayed for several days with the inhabitants of Berytus, had made many conversant with the worship of the one God and had baptized them, Peter enthroned as bishop one of the elders who were accompanying him and then journeyed to Byblus.[109]

There must have been other accounts which named Judas as the first bishop. It would have been essential to report an apostle as the first bishop of a city in which his *martyrion* was the most splendid church (see discussion on churches in Berytus, pp. 172–6). Thus, it seems that there were conflicting traditions about the earliest bishop of Berytus.

Later bishops of Berytus, as in other Late Antique cities, tend to have been recorded because of religious controversies which originated in other centers and involved issues of concern throughout the Greek East. The Arian controversy embroiled the church of fourth-century Berytus in issues originating in Alexandria. Eusebius, who was bishop first in Berytus, but then in Nicomedia in Bithynia, was a vigorous partisan of Arius. This narrative takes care to distinguish Eusebius of Berytus and Nicomedia from the better-known Eusebius of Caesarea.

> Many others also adopted the opinion of Arius; but Eusebius in particular was a zealous defender of it: not he of Caesarea, but the one who before

> had been bishop of the church of Berytus, and was then somehow in possession of the bishopric of Nicomedia in Bithynia.[110]

This Eusebius, who was a fourth-century bishop of Berytus (before 318 AD), was known as Eusebius of Nicomedia because of the vigor of his actions in that bishopric. Barnes has suggested that Eusebius's transfer to Nicomedia resulted from an interest in his being close to the court of Licinius and Constantia, the sister of Constantine, who was Licinius's wife. It appears that Eusebius was related to Julius Julianus who served as the Pretorian Prefect for Licinius from 315–24.[111] As bishop of Nicomedia, Eusebius accompanied Constantia to the camp of Constantine to beg for Licinius's life.[112]

It is possible that his Arian views developed either when he was a student of Lucian in Antioch or in Nicomedia (possibly along with Arius) or when he was a bishop in Berytus and Nicomedia.[113] After his anathematization at the council of Nicaea, which he was accused of helping to precipitate,[114] he repudiated his Arian views in order to be restored from exile in Gaul.[115] Subsequently, this Eusebius became bishop of Constantinople (from 338/9 AD).[116] The completeness of his restoration is indicated by his selection to baptize Constantine I near the time of his death in 337 AD.[117]

The successor of Eusebius at Berytus was Gregorius, who was clearly a supporter of Arian doctrine,[118] as shown by a letter preserved by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. In the letter, written to Eusebius of Nicomedia by Arius at the time of his exile, the Alexandrian lists his supporters and fellow-sufferers: 'Eusebius, your brother bishop of Caesarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregorius, Aetius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned because they say that God had an existence before His Son.'[119]

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in a comment following the letter, explains who these supporters were:

> Of those whose names were mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregorius of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Dioscoplis. Arius prided himself on having these men of one mind with himself.[120]

Timotheus Berytius of the province of Phoenice signed as a witness to the first council of Constantinople, so either there is another bishop here or there is confusion in the sources about which council is referred to.

This same *Gregorius* surnamed *Berytius* (or *Beryti*) was among the Phoenician bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea.[121] Counted as an Eastern bishop who supported Arianism, he was among the 150 bishops who attended the council at Constantinople called by Theodosius in 381 AD, as recorded by Theodoret of Cyrrhus:

> The Eastern section of the empire had received the infection from many quarters. Arius, a presbyster of Alexandria in Egypt, there begat the blasphemy. Eusebius, Patrophilus, and Aetius of Palestine, Paulinus and Gregorius of Phoenicia, Theodotus of Laodicea and his successor Georgius, and after him Athanasius and Narcissus of Cilicia, had nurtured the seeds so foully sown… For these reasons only the bishops of his own empire were summoned by the emperor [Theodosius] to meet at Constantinople. They arrived, being in all one hundred and fifty in number.[122]

Eustathius, the fifth century bishop of Berytus (referred to in records of 448 AD)[123] is known for his role in the events surrounding the Council of Chalcedon. In cooperation with Photius, the new Metropolitan of Tyre, the bishop of Berytus opposed Ibas of Edessa who was successfully defended by his own deacons.[124] At Chalcedon in 451 AD Eustathius was deposed from his bishopric in Berytus for his role in the 'robber council of Ephesus.'[125]

Severus, the future Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, was a student in Berytus about 486 AD. From Zacharias's account of their student days there, it is clear that the theological stance of the bishop of Berytus was not necessarily the same as that of the people. Although Zacharias, Severus, and other members of the *philoponoi* met assiduously every night to study great theological writings in the church of the Theotokos and went to the clerics at the great church of St Judas to borrow books, they would not permit the baptism of Severus in Berytus. Quite explicitly, it is because the bishop was Chalcedonian and they were not.[126] Whether or not the people of Berytus were in theological agreement with the law students, who were after all only temporary residents of the city, or with their bishop is difficult to know from the sources.

Despite their theological disagreements with the bishop, the law students and others looked to the bishop John for leadership of an almost political sort in the various actions against practitioners of magic.[127] John's civic leadership is attested not only by the account of Zacharias, but he is also praised for his active support of the establishment of a monastery by Rabulas.[128] An Easter sermon by this bishop, seemingly only a retelling of the discovery of the empty tomb by the women, suggests that John could speak simply but inspirationally to his flock.[129]

Apparently some shift in viewpoint occurred after the bishopric of John. Marinus was bishop of Berytus during the reign of the emperor Anastasios (491–518) who was pro-Monophysite. From the account in Evagrius, *HE* 3.33, Marinus was among the bishops of Phoenicia and Syria who supported Severus and the Monophysite movement.

Yet the pendulum swung back again toward a Chalcedonian attitude. Thalassius of Berytus was the first signatory to a letter which the bishops of the East circulated among themselves and then sent to Pope Agapetus against Severus of Antioch. This letter is attached to the first acts of the synod of Constantinople held under the bishop Mennas (Menas) in 536 AD.[130]

> I, Thalassius bishop of Berytus, have subscribed [my name], also consenting to the equal vote as to those [matters] which have been here defined, anathematizing those as heretics, especially Severus and his writings, also Peter formerly of Apamea, and Zoaras, the communicators of these men and [men] persisting in the error of these men.[131]

Thus the great Monophysite leader Severus was clearly ‘a prophet without honor’ in the city where he was converted to Christianity as a law student. In the course of this synod, Severus was accused of belief in demons (from the time he was a student at Berytus) and further castigated for such actions as rejection of the *Henoticon*. In the final proceedings, grave penalties were imposed on Severus, Anthimus, Peter of Apamea, Zoaras, and their followers who were exiled. Further, the books of Severus were to be burned. Anyone who gave them sanctuary was threatened with the confiscation of his goods and house by the government for the use of the church. Fierce feelings fueled such an indictment; perhaps even fiercer feelings followed such an anathematization.[132]

In the church at Berytus, the allegiance to orthodoxy was not consistent. The first securely identified bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Gregorius, were Arian. Eustathius, the powerful bishop of mid-fifth century, lost out at Chalcedon. John, the bishop at the time of Severus, was considered Chalcedonian by Severus and his friends. However, it is clear that he enjoyed imperial favor due to his co-sponsorship with the emperor Zeno of the monastic effort by Rabulas. A subsequent bishop Marinus was proMonophysite, but Thalassius opposed Severus and the Monophysite movement. The leanings of other bishops are not recorded. Furthermore, the position of the people may not have accorded with the bishops of any period as the terms of the anathemas (given above) suggest.

So in Berytus all the great controversies and issues of the fourth through sixth centuries were well-known, as in other cities. Even though the foci of controversy were inevitably the centers of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, Berytus was in no sense a religious backwater. The central location of the city on the routes favored by pilgrims and imperial officials was a factor. Most important was the reality that Berytus was inevitably one of the great intellectual centers of the Greek East. Ambitious intelligent young men who aspired to careers in law, government, or the church came there to sharpen not only their skills of reasoning but also of arguing fine points of law. Such training may have enhanced the increasingly legalistic rhetorical style of argumentation which has been preserved for us in the records of the church councils and in the ecclesiastical histories.[133]

Evidence for individual religious belief in Late Antique Berytus

Additional evidence for popular attitudes[134] towards the position of Christ relative to the Father and to the angels may be inferred from the hierarchy of beneficent divine forces which are invoked in the apotropaic amulet which was found in a grave near Berytus. A date of the fifth century AD may be suggested by the similarity in wording in lines 15–33 to a papyrus spell from Oxyrhyncus.[135] The phylactery is inscribed with 121 lines on a narrow silver band (3×37.5 cm) which was originally rolled up and worn around the neck in a bronze cylinder.[136] The invocation uses many Semitic names to address divine forces such as angels.[137]

> I invoke you SABAÔTH who are upon/above the heavens, who came (?) above ELAÔTH, who are above CHTHOTHAI. Protect Alexandra, to whom Zoê gave birth,[138] from every *daimon* and from every power of *daimones* and from *daimonia* and from spells and curse tablets.
>
> I call in the name of the one who created all things;[139]
> I call upon the one who sits upon/over the first heaven, MARMARIÔTH;
> I call upon the one who sits over second heaven OURIÊL;
> I call upon the one who sits over the third heaven AÊL;
> I call upon the one who sits over the fourth heaven GABRIÊL;
> I call upon the one who sits over the fifth heaven CHAÊL;
> I call upon the one who sits over the sixth heaven MORIATH;
> I call upon the one who sits over the seventh heaven CACHTH;
> I call upon the one (who is) over lightning RIOPHA;
> I call upon the one (who is) over thunder ZONCHAR;
> I call upon the one (who is) over rain TEBRIÊL(?);
> I call upon the one (who is) over snow TOBRIÊL;
> I call upon the one (who is) over the forests (?) THADAMA;
> I call upon the one (who is) over earthquakes SIORACHA;
> I call upon the one (who is) over the sea SOURIÊL;
> I call upon the one (who is) over the serpents EITHABIRA;
> I call upon the one (who is) seated over the rivers BÊLLIA;
> I call upon the one (who is) seated over the roads PHASOUSOUÊL;
> I call upon the one (who is) seated over the cities EISTOCHAMA;
> I call upon the one (who is) over the level ground NOUCHAÊL;
> I call upon the one (who is) seated over every kind of wandering APRAPHÊS;
> I call upon the one (who is) seated upon the mountains eternal (?) godEINATH ADÔNÊS DECHOCHTHA,
> who are seated upon the serpents IATHENNOUIAN.
> The one (who is) seated over the firmament CHRARA;

> the one (who is) seated over seas (?) between the two CHÊROUBIN forever; the god of Abraam and the god of Isaach and the god of Iakôb. Protect Alexandra, to whom Zoê gave birth, from *daimonia* and spells and dizziness and from all suffering and from insanity.
>
> I invoke you, the living god in ZAARABEM NAMADÔN ZAMADÔN, who cause lightning and thunder EBIEMATHALZERÔ (with?) the new staff which tramples THESTA and EIBRADIBAS BARBLIOIS EIPSATHÔ ATHARIATH PHELCHAPHIAÔN, at whom all things male and all terrible binding spells shudder. Flee from Alexandra, to whom Zoê gave birth…under springs and the abyss of M…so that you may not bring any stain on her—not by a kiss, a greeting, a meeting; not by drink or food, or through intercourse/conversation or by a look or through a piece of clothing; nor while she is praying or on the road or away from home,[140] either in a river or in the baths.[141] Holy, powerful and mighty names, protect Alexandra from every *daimonion,* whether male or female, and from every disturbance by *daimonia,* whether those of the night or those of the day. Remove them from Alexandra, to whom Zoê gave birth. Now, now. Quickly, quickly. One God and his Christ, help Alexandra.[142]

Such prophylactic inscriptions were by no means unique to Berytus, as Gager's comprehensive study demonstrates. There are several issues of interest here for our understanding of individual religious belief in Berytus. First, included with traditional invocation to the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are numerous angels and spirits, a veritable field army against demons. Second, the closing to 'One God and his Christ' could be interpreted either as expressing the *eis theos* view[143] or as placing Christ in a subordinate role to the Father. The third issue is Alexandra's desire for an ascetic lifestyle while remaining in the world. Alexandra seems less concerned with major theological issues than with her personal safety on earth. Her dependence on numerous spirits suggests that she believed in a wider group of helpers for God. Her belief system is not as simple as the one usually presented in the theological discussions of the period.

Conclusion about Christian identity in Late Antique Berytus

Although the churches had power politically, theologically, and aesthetically to influence and shape the self-identification of the people, there is strong evidence that individuals could express attitudes in ways that did not conform with the opinion of the bishop. One cause for diverging types of religious self-expression could be the 'support groups' like the *philoponoi* who fostered non-conformity with the established church. Although the bishop had the advantage of the pulpit and of excommunication, such support groups had the advantage of personal relationships in shaping the allegiance of individual Christians. Another reason for differing religious identification could be the philosophical survival of

'freedom of thought' in an academic city. Certainly, Berytus was not unique in the diversity of religious affiliation and expression. Antioch and Alexandria, for example, were home to persons whose views were spread across a broad spectrum of belief.[144]

Jews in Berytus: separateness and togetherness

Second to fourth centuries

The inscription for Samuel, the *sericarius,* and his family, appears to commemorate a Jewish artisan and his family as a minorah was carved on the stone. Additional evidence for the presence of at least one Jewish congregation in Berytus comes from the Roman province of Palestina. Epigraphical evidence from Beth She'arim reveals active synagogues, not only in Berytus but also in Tyre and Sidon.[145] Inscriptions on the tombs there refer to a priest (148) and a synagogue leader (164) from Berytus.

> *Χωὴν Βυϱίτιος*
> 'A priest from Berytus'[146]
> 'Here lies Eusebios the most illustrious,
> head of the synagogue of the people of Beirut.'[147]

Although the families or other members of the congregation went to great effort and expense to bury their honored dead in a burial area regarded in some sense as 'holy ground' for the Jewish community, the very language of their commemorative inscriptions reflects literary tastes and naming practices shared with their pagan and Christian neighbors.[148] The destruction of Beth She'arim in 352 AD due to the revolt of Gallus put an end to the burials there.[149]

Acccording to the famous letter of Ambrose (*Ep.* 40), during the reign of Julian, Jews burned churches in Berytus as well as in other places:

> And to be sure if I were to talk in terms of the law of peoples *[iure gentium]* I would say how many basilicas of the Church the Jews burned in the time of Julian's reign: two at Damascus, of which one has been barely repaired, but at the expense of the Church, not of the Synagogue; the other basilica lies in squalid ruins. Basilicas were burned in Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, and almost everywhere in that area, and no one sought revenge. A basilica was also burned at Alexandria by pagans and Jews.[150]

It is hard to know if Ambrose has conflated or misheard the story of the burning of the church at Berytus with the story of arson by Magnus, the pagan follower of Julian. It is also hard to determine if the animosity against Jews which is reflected in this anecdote was unique to the church leaders in Italy or was widespread throughout the empire.[151] There are several references to numerous

Jews in Phoenicia, especially in the letters of John Chrysostom. Additionaly John Chrysostom preached and preserved eight homilies against the Jews; these sermons reflect a real animosity against the Jews, especially in Antioch.[152] One wonders at the source of so much hostility towards the Jews; in part, the answer may lie in the polemical nature of this combative church father who hurled insults at even the imperial family.[153]

Early sixth century

It is noteworthy also that Joshua Stylites records for the year 501/502 that a synagogue in Berytus was burned by a conflagration, due to natural (or apocalyptic) causes, in several cities along the coast.

> On the twenty-second of August this year, on the night preceding Friday, we saw a huge fire [274] burning in the northern quarter (of the sky) all night and accordingly thought that the whole earth was going <to be consumed> by a torrent of fire that night. The mercy of our Lord preserved us unharmed, but a letter was sent to us by some acquaintances of ours who were on their way to Jerusalem, in which it was (said) that the city of Ptolemais, otherwise known as Acre, was flattened on the night that the huge blazing fire was seen, and nothing in it was left standing. Furthermore, some days later some Tyrians and Sidonians came to us and told us that parts of their cities, i.e., part of Tyre and part of Sidon, also fell down on the same day as the fire appeared and Ptolemais was flattened. In Beirut, on the day when Acre was destroyed, only the synagogue of the Jews collapsed, but the (entire) population of Nicomedia was handed over to Satan to be punished.[154]

In 423 a law had been passed which seemed to secure the *status quo* for the synagogues in the East. These buildings were not to be taken away from the Jews or burned. If any had been seized, the owners were either to be compensated or they were to be rebuilt, 'commensurate with those that were taken away.' However, no new synagogues were to be built and old ones were to be left in their current state.[155] So the story of the natural conflagration of the synagogue at Berytus could be taken to mean that no one had to be re-imbursed and that perhaps it need not be rebuilt.

No matter what the implications are for a synagogue in Berytus after 502, it is clear that at least one synagogue had existed in the city before that time. It also seems that the Jews had kept a separate identity in the city for many centuries without any particular problems, and may reflect again the apparent atmosphere of relative toleration of religious difference that seems to have operated in the treatment of pagans in the late fifth century in Berytus.

Notes

1 See Liebeschuetz (1979b); Nock (1933); and Trombley (1995) for conversion, especially in the East. See Momigliano (1963) for the conflict between paganism and Christianity; Lane Fox (1987) for interaction between Christians and pagans.

2 That these same forces could be marshalled to resist conversion is clear from the account of the pagan priestess, discussed on pp. 148–50.

3 Trombley (1993) 2:3–51 has accounts of other conversions in the city.

4 The *Vie de Sévère* has attracted much study due to the fascinating details of pagan practice and the lives of the law students. Trombley (1993) 2:29–45 has a particularly fine analysis, bolstered by English translations of important passages. See also Darling (1982) for general background on the life of Severus and Young (1990) for a fresh translation based on the Syriac of portions of the *Vie de Sévère*. (Note that Darling and Young are the same person.) A complete English translation of the caliber of those by Trombley and Young would be a very welcome contribution.

5 Bowersock (1990) has an excellent discussion of all the implications of this term.

6 Trombley (1993) 2:30.

7 Young (1990) 320–1, translating *Vie de Sévère* 49–51.

8 This a reference to the common belief that sins committed before baptism were forgiven, but those committed after baptism might not be. The ‘spots’ are a reference to contamination by sexual intercourse and indicate the mind-set that led Severus to embrace asceticism subsequently. See P.Brown (1988) for an excellent study of this outlook and ascetic practice in Late Antiquity.

9 Young (1990) 324, translating *Vie de Sévère* 49.

10 See Chitty (1966) for ascetic practice in the desert.

11 Young (1990) 324, summarizing *Vie de Sévère* 49–51. See also Sijpesteijn (1989) for an explanation of the *philoponoi*.

12 Young (1990) 321, translating *Vie de Sévère* 51–2.

13 Julian 12.351c–352a, translated and discussed in Athanassiadi-Fowden (1981) 16.

14 See above for Severus’s fear of being covered with spots.

15 Trombley (1993) 2:35, translating *Vie de Sévère* 58.

16 See Trombley (1993) 2:34–51 for a detailed study of divination as practiced in Berytus.

17 Young (1990) 323–4, translating *Vie de Sévère* 75.

18 Young (1990) 325, translating *Vie de Sévère* 93.

19 See Caner (2002), Gawlikowski (1997), and Chitty (1966) for monasticism and the desert.

20 See Kazhdan *ODB,* s.v. ‘Social Structure’ for an excellent discussion of this term and Haldon (1981) for an analysis of social structure of Late Antiquity.

21 See Frend (1972) for Severus’s role in the Monophysite movement.

22 LeQuien (1740) 2:818.

23 *Mneme tou hosiou patros hemon Raboula, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, s.v. Feb. 19,* in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris* (1902), 476. Dated to the tenth century by Robert F.Taft and Nancy Patterson Ševcenko, *ODB,* s.v. ‘Synaxarion.’ Text also given in *Menaion tou Phebrouariou* (Imbrios, Athens, 1972) 105.

24 There are no clues to the location; perhaps between Berytus and Heliopolis or near Deir el Qalaa.

25 See Alexander (1967) and Chuvin (1990) for discussions that suggest a continuation of interest in Late Antiquity in the oracle at Heliopolis, both by the pagans and Christians of the city.

26 *Vita Sanctae Matronae. Acta Sanctorum Novembris III* (1910) 790b-823f has the Greek texts of *Vita Prima, Vita Altera,* and *Vita Tertia*. The Greek text of the *Vita Altera* is also available in *PG* 116.920–54.

27 Featherstone (1996) in Talbot (1996) provides English translation of *Vita Prima,* with introduction and notes by Cyril Mango. Bennasser (1984) provides English translation of *Vita Altera* and important discussion.

28 Brief discussion in P.Brown (1988) 270, 272–4.

29 Boswell (1988).

30 Topping (1988). Special acknowledgment is due to Professor Wolf Liebeschuetz for the citation to this important study by Topping.

31 Her husband Domitianus. The names of Matrona and her husband seem to represent their particular roles in the domestic conflict. I don't know if this is coincidental or an aspect of literary convention in saints' lives.

32 *Vita Matronae* 2.18 (817 E); translation by Bennasser (1984) 136.

33 See Herrin (1994) and E.Clark (1983) and (1986) for the roles open to women in this period.

34 *Vita Matronae* 1.19 (799 F); Featherstone translation, p. 38.

35 Topping (1988) 218, n. 59, concludes that the portrait of Matrona was shaped by the account of Thekla, the disciple of Paul as recounted in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul*. Thekla also 'broke with traditional family and religious ties, dressed like a man, followed her teacher and converted pagan women.'

36 See pp. 147–50 on Late Antique paganism for further discussion of the conversion of the pagan priestess Euche.

37 *Vita Matronae* 1.23 (801 D), Featherstone translation, p. 41.

38 E.Clark (1983) 177 translates the relevant passage from *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum,* edited by F.X.Funk (Paderborn: 1905) 105. See Topping (1992) and Halton (1986) for additional bibliography on the role of deaconesses and deacons.

39 Halton (1986) 55, translating John Chrysostom's *Homily 2 on II Corinthians* (*PG* 61.399).

40 *Vita Matronae* 2.26; Bennasser translation 143–4.

41 See pp. 107–11 on the administration of the Late Antique city of Berytus.

42 See Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religiosa Historia,* now available in translations by Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen (French) and Price (English), for many other stories of male and female ascetics in Syria. See Brock and Harvey (1987) for a study of ascetic women of Syria, and Harvey (1983/93) and (1990) for additional studies of such women. See P.Brown (1988) and Lane Fox (1987) for extended discussions of ascetic views and practices.

43 See O'Roark (1994), (1996), and (1999) for studies of family life in Late Antiquity, based on the writings of John Chrysostom.

44 See Lim (1995) and Gregory (1979) for the relation between theological conflict and social disorder.

45 The issues are well explained in A.H.M.Jones (1959) and Frend (1952) and (1972).

46 Sermons of John Chrysostom *PG* 47–64. For discussion of themes related to family life and recent bibliography see O'Roark (1994), (1996), and (1999).
47 Liebeschuetz (1981).
48 See some related discussion in Chapter 5 on the 'built environment' of the Late Antique city.
49 *Vie de Sévère* 48. In the Syriac text, *'idto' qadišto' dmetqriyo' 'anastasya',* 'the holy church which is called the Anastasia.' I am indebted to Dr Sam Meier of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at The Ohio State University for his transcription and translation of the Syriac phrases describing the churches in the *Vie de Sévère*.
50 *Vie de Sévère* 69. In the Syriac text, *dhayklo' dabtulto' qadišto' wyoldat 'aloho' maryam,* 'the temple of the Holy Virgin and Bearer of God, Mary.' The phrase 'bearer of God' is the standard Syriac expression for the Theotokos.
51 *Vie de Sévère* 63.
52 *Vie de SévèZre* 71. Kugener translates the Syriac thus: 'la chapelle dite le second martyrion.'
53 *Vie de Sévère* 54. Kugener translates the Syriac thus: '[Evagrius] fréquenta depuis lors avec assiduité les saintes Églises, s'étant joint a ceux qui, en ce temps-là chantaient toute la nuit dans l'église du très illustre Etienne, le protomartyr.'
54 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 4.22.10. See Chapter 7 on Late Antique paganism for fuller discussion.
55 See discussion under the bishops given below on pp. 179–80.
56 See Barnes (1981) 251 for a discussion of the sisters of Constantine and *passim* for Eusebius, bishop of Berytus and of Nicomedia.
57 Pseudo-Zacharias IV, *Chronique syriaque* (edited and translated by Hamilton and Brooks) p. 77, translating a passage found in the text of Ahrens and Kugener. The section records a dialogue between Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, and Timothy, bishop of Alexandria. The latter refers to 'the dedication of a church, a great temple which Eustace built and named "Anastasia".' Cited in full in Collinet (1925) 68, note 4.
58 Zacharias Scholasticus, *Disputatio de Mundi Opificio, PG* 85.1021–5. Greek text with Latin translation and notes. For Greek text and English translation, seeL. J.Hall (1996).
59 Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 10.4.37–46.
60 See Jidejian (1973) pls 208–9 showing a chancel with carved ibex in the Beirut National Museum. For a discussion of chancel screens, see Fine (1998) andR. H.Smith (2000). See pl. 5 in this book.
61 See Jidejian (1973) plates 108–9 showing sculpted architrave from the basilica of Beirut. This is very typical of ornamentation of Syrian churches, as seen in various publications, such as Butler (1929).
62 Young (1990) 319–20, translating *Vie de Sévère* 48–9.
63 Young (1990) 321, translating *Vie de Sévère* 51–2.
64 Young (1990) 323. *Vie de Sévère* 69. See also Trombley (1993) 2:38–41.
65 See Fowden (1978) for an important discussion of the bishops' growing power in the Late Antique Greek East. See Miller (2000) for the bishop's palace. See *Cod. Theod.* 1.27 (Pharr, p. 31); 9.45.5 (Pharr, p. 266); *Sirm.* 1.3, 6, 9, 15 (Pharr, pp. 478–85) for judicial powers of the bishops.

66 *Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis* 6.4.9 (2.271, Brooks edition).
67 See J.B.Ward-Perkins (1966) for a study of *martyria*.
68 This break in the text was indicated by Kugener.
69 Kugener suggests this meaning for 'Eudranes.' I have put this break in the passage which is supplied in a section below from Trombley.
70 Kugener's note.
71 For this portion of the *Vie de Sévère* 64–5, I have made an English translation, based solely on the French translation of Kugener. The Greek terms were supplied by Kugener as equivalent to words in the Syriac text.
72 *Vie de Sévère* 63. In the Syriac text, *lhayko' myaqar bkul dašliho' qadišo' yhudo',* 'the palace/temple revered in all of the holy messenger/apostle Judas who was brother of James the Just, who were the two sons of Joseph, the spouse of the Holy Virgin, always a Virgin, Mary, Bearer of God.' Transliteration and translation by Dr Sam Meier.
73 Dvornik (1958) has demonstrated the significance for a city in having a church which contains the bones of an apostle. See Grabar (1946) for comprehensive study of *martyria* and J.B.Ward-Perkins (1966) for additional commentary on the development of these buildings in Late Antiquity.
74 'Against the Antidicomarianites,' in the larger work, the *Panarion, Refutation of All the Heresies*.
75 Mark 6:2–3 and Matt. 13:54–5 lists these men as brothers of Christ and children of Mary. Judas (not Iscariot) named as brother of Christ in John 14:28. Book of Jude has been ascribed to this brother.
76 Helvidius and Jerome present two other views. Helvidius (according to Jerome who preserved his argument only to attack it) suggested that Mary and Joseph were parents of the 'sisters' and 'brothers' of Jesus. Jerome argued that 'brothers' and 'sisters' could refer to 'cousins' in 'Against Helvidius: The Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary.' The view of Epiphanius (see p. 175 [text] above) is followed by many Eastern Orthodox churches, the view of Helvidius is followed by many Protestants, and the view of Jerome is followed by most Roman Catholics.
77 Mark 3:21–31 and John 7:5 for the skepticism of his family. But the situation changed after Jesus appeared to James (I Cor. 15:7). The brothers were members of the early church (Acts 1:14), and James was an important leader of the church at Jerusalem (Acts 12:17, 15:13; 21:18).
78 Grandsons of this Judas were described as hard-working landowners who were also leaders of the church during the persecutions of Domitian, according to an account preserved in Eusebius, *HE* 3.19–20. In Eusebius's account they were summoned by Domitian to give an account of their descent from the house of David. When he found that they only had 9000 denarii worth of land (39 jugera) and saw that they were leathery from doing their own work, he sent them away. Such an account indicates an interest in preserving the record of those relatives of Jesus who could be traced. Higher status would accrue to those who were known to have suffered a martyr's death.
79 *Acta Sanctorum Octobris* XII (October 28), p. 438.
80 See J.B.Segal (1970) 62–6 for discussion of the Thaddeus-Judas-Thomas legend at Edessa.

81 *Cod. Theod.* 9.17.7, February 26, 386 AD; Pharr translation, p. 240. See discussion in Alexander (1967) 99.

82 See D.Hunt (1993) for the evidence of the laws for the Christianization of the Roman Empire.

83 Alexander (1967) 47.

84 Alexander (1967) 98–102 suggests that sites of pagan temples were converted in some cases to *martyria,* but he assumes that the temples were totally destroyed as in Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 8.69 which he translates thus (p.101): '[The marytrs] obliterated the memory even of the socalled gods from the mind of men. For their shrines were completely destroyed so that not even the form of their outlines remained and men now alive do not know the place of the altars, but their materials were consecrated to the shrines of the martyrs. For the Lord substituted his own dead for your gods. He proved the latter vanished and gave to the former their honor.'

85 Greek text of *The Oracle of Baalbek* lines 99–104 in Alexander (1967) 14–15. English translation in Alexander (1967) 25–6.

86 Wiegand (1921–5).

87 Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938).

88 Chuvin (1990) for Heliopolis. *Vita Sanctae Matronae* provides evidence of pagan temples near Berytus, probably at Deir el-Qalaa.

89 Saidah (1978).

90 Stern (1965).

91 See Wiegand (1921–5) II for plates of destroyed church at Heliopolis-Baalbek. Ragette (1980) has plates redrawn from Wiegand and is more generally available. Jidejian (1975) has a description and some drawings of the church before its removal by Wiegand and his team in the early part of this century.

92 Baratte (1978), entry 55, 'Qabr Hiram: Pavement de l'église Saint-Christophe Ma 2230–2236' by Noel Duval, pp. 132–45, pls 140–7, has explanation, photographs, and drawings from this church near Tyre. The mosaics were found by Ernst Renan in 1861 and removed to the Louvre. The beautiful marble floor in the cathedral at Tyre, described by Eusebius, *HE* 10.4.37–8, has been uncovered; see *Liban,* p. 215.

93 Butler (1929).

94 See T.F.Mathews (1993), especially 142–76 the chapter on 'convergence,' for an important study of the power of the liturgy and religious ceremony in Late Antique churches.

95 See pp. 224–6 on 'silk-workers and artisans' for text, translation, and discussion of passage from Egeria. See also the section on the use of Latin, Greek, and 'Syrian' languages on pp. 176–7.

96 See introduction and translation by Lemerle in his edition of Romanus. See Brock (1992) for a study of Ephraim the Syrian, the mentor of Romanus. Brock's book, aptly named *The Luminous Eye,* reflects on the power of the hymns upon the worshippers in their contemplation of God.

97 MacMullen (1989).

98 John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos* III, translated by P.W.Harkins, quoted in Halton (1986) 59.

99 Wilkinson (1999) has maps and comparative narratives for Egeria's route. Her journey has been dated to 381–4 AD, about fifty years after that of the Bordeaux pilgrim. Her tour is contemporary with that of Jerome and Paula. For Edessa as the

site of visits by pilgrims like Egeria and as a center of Syriac culture, see Segal (1970), especially 172–9.

100 Egeria has been subjected to relentless criticism for her use of non-classical language and sense of marvel on her journey. However, as Hunt (1971) 3–6 points out, she apparently wrote as she spoke and her language reflects everyday Latin diction of fourth-century Europe. Her name has been given variously as Egeria, Echeria, Eiheria, Etheria, Heteria, and Aetheria (under which some previous editions are catalogued).

101 Wilkinson (1999) 163 has translated *syriste* as 'Syriac' and notes that the language has been interpreted to be Palestinian Aramaic. *Syriste* may simply mean 'like a Syrian.' See Bëyer (1986) and Segert (1976) and (1997) for fuller discussion of the varieties and distribution of the Aramaic-based languages.

102 47.3. Et quoniam in ea provincia pars populi et grece et siriste novit, pars etiam alia per se grece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste noverit, tamen semper grece loqitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyster, qui, episcopo grece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant,// quae exponuntur. 4. Lectiones etiam, quecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesses est grece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece noverunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores grecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis. 5. Illud autem hic ante omnia valde gratum fit et valde admirabile, ut semper tam ymni quam antiphonae et lectiones nec non etiam et orationes, quas dicet episcopus, tales pronuntiones habeant, ut et diei, qui celebratur, et loco, in quo agitur, aptae et convenientes sint semper. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47.3. CCSL vol. 175, p. 89. English translation in Wilkinson (1999) 163.

103 MacMullen (1989).

104 *Kouartos, ou kai autou en tei pros Romaious epistolei ho Paulos memnetai, episkopos Berytoi egeneto. ODB,* s.v. 'Epiphanios.' Epiphanius, *Index Discipulorum,* in *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae,* ed. T. Schermann, p. 123.

105 Romans 16:21–3.

106 *Menaion tou Noembriou* (1960) s.v. November 10, p. 69.

107 *Menaion tou Noembriou* (1960) s.v. November 10, p. 70.

108 Maundrell (1703) 54–5: 'From this tower we had a view of the whole city: amongst other prospects it yielded us the sight of a large christian church, said to have been at first consecrated to St John the Evangelist. But, it being now usurp'd by the Turks for their chief mosque, we could not be permitted to see it, otherwise than at this distance. Another church there is in the town, which seems to be ancient; but being a very mean fabrick is suffer'd to remain still in the hands of the Greeks. We found it adorn'd with an abundance of old pictures; amongst the rest I saw one with this little inscription *Kuartos protos archiepiskopos Berytu.'* Quartus is mentioned in the *Menologium Graecorum* along with Dorotheus of Tyre, according to Lequien (1740) 2.818.

109 *Pseudo-Clemntines,* Irmscher translation (1975), pp. 562–3. Commentary in Bauer (1964); F.S.Jones (1982a) and (1982b); Schneemelcher (1964); and Schneemelcher and de Santos (1964).

110 Socrates, *HE* 1.6. *PG* 67.43. Translation by Zenos, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 2.3.

111 Barnes (1981) 70 and 321, notes 79–80, depending on Ammianus 22.9–4 which mentions that the emperor Julian was related to Eusebius who was the bishop of Nicomedia during his time in the city. Barnes suggests that the relationship was through the mother of Julian, Basilina who was the daughter of Julius Jualianus.

112 Barnes (1981) 77 with citations to *Origo* 28, *Epitome* 41.7, and Philostorgius *HE,* p. 180.12ff. Bidez edition.

113 His teacher Lucian was martytred in Nicomedia in 312 and was especially venerated by Helena, the mother of Constantine: Barnes (1981) 194, based on Philostorgius, *HE* 2.13.

114 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.4–20. See also Philostorgius, *HE* 1.9 (for 325 AD), Rufinus, *HE* 10.12, Socrates, *HE* 1.25, and Sozomen, *HE* 2.27.2 (after Nicaea).

115 Correspondence preserved in Socrates, *HE* 1.14, Sozomen, *HE* 2.16, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.5.

116 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.19 published the letter of Constantine to the Nicomedians against Eusebius after the Council of Nicaea.

117 Barnes (1981) 260, based on Eusebius, *VC* 4.62 and Socrates, *HE* 1.39.2, 40.3.

118 Lequien (1740) 2.818. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.4 listed Gregorius of Berytus among the supporters of Arius.

119 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.5 (Parmentier edition, p. 26); translated by Jackson as 1.4, p. 41.

120 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 1.5 (Parmentier edition, p. 27); translated by Jackson as 1.4, pp. 41–2.

121 Lequien (1740) 2.818. Lequien lists another bishop of Berytus as Macedonius by reading *Macedonius episcopus a Jurito* as *Macedonius episcopus a Berito* among the signatories of the letter of the Arians who departed from the council of Philippopolis (347 AD) at the pseudo-council of Sardica.

122 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 5.7 (Parmentier edition, p. 286); translated by Jackson as 5.7, p. 135.

123 See discussion of *metropolitan* status of Berytus in Chapter 6 on political background and the description of the cathedral built by Eusthathius in the discussion of the churches of Berytus above.

124 Duchesne (1924–6) 3.287.

125 Duchesne (1924–6) 3.300.

126 See *Vie de Sévère* 49–51 with text and discussion in section on conversion.

127 See pp. 108–11 on Late Antique city administration.

128 See pp. 164–5 on conversion for full text and discussion.

129 John of Berytus, *Homelie Paschale, SC* 187. See Gregory (1975) for the importance of such sermons.

130 Discussion and summary in Hefele (1883–96) 4.200–1, based on Mansi 8.984–1021.

131 Latin text in Lequien (1740) 2.818; my translation.

132 Excellent summary of this council and translation of some documents in Hefele (1883–96) 4.192–204; Mansi VIII.996–1021.

133 Harries (1986) and Greatrex (2000) address this point in some detail.

134 Other undated apotropaic devices found in and near Berytus, such as inscribed gems, have been published in De Ridder (1912) and Mouterde (1930–1). They appear to be from the Roman era. A gold amulet found at Soueidié in a villa near Baalbek is copied and discussed by Mouterde in an article included in Chéhab (1957) 2.51–2.

The amulet, which is difficult to read and to date, appears to express neo-Platonic views.

135 Gager (1992) 233 citing *PGM* 35. See Jordan (1991) for new transcription and scholarly commentary of this phylactery.
136 Gager (1992) 232.
137 Gager (1992) 233.
138 Does the omission of a father's name suggest that Alexandra was the child of parents who could not legally marry and thus possibly of low status? See important discussion of 'prohibited unions' in Evans Grubbs (1993) 130–3 and fuller discussion of Late Antique marriage legislation in Evans Grubbs (1995).
139 Gager (1992) 233, note 34: The following series of invocations to the angels of the various heavens, using their secret names, is thoroughly typical of Jewish apocalypses and recipe books in late antiquity.'
140 Note the freedom or need to travel in public by a woman.
141 An indication that the wearer did frequent a bath, perhaps the one which has been excavated in Berytus. See Jidejian (1973) plates 236–8 for clear representation of the hypocaust and overview of the building. See Lauffray (1978) 152 for plan showing the location of the bath and 156 for discussion of some remains of the bath. See Thorpe for best and most recent publications of the bath(s) in Beirut.
142 Gager (1992) 234.
143 Liebeschuetz (1981) studies the *heis theos,* 'one God,' inscriptions of Syria and tries to relate them to Syrian belief, such as Monophysitism and the coming of Islamic montheism.
144 For Antioch, see Liebeschuetz (1972). For Alexandria, see Gregory (1979) 163–201 and Haas (1997). For Palestine, see Schick (1995).
145 Frey (1952); Schwabe and Lifshitz (1974).
146 Schwabe and Lifshitz (1974), 148, p. 133. See also N.Avigad, *Eretz-Yisrael* IV, p. 92; *IEJ* 5 (1955) 216; *SEG* 16, 823; *BE, REG* 69 (1956) 341.
147 *Entha kite Eusebis ho lamprotatos archisynagogos on Berito[n].* This inscription is really a poorly painted caption for the tomb, full of colloquial mispellings. See Schwabe and Lifshitz (1974), #164, pp. 140–1. See also B.Lifshitz, *RB* 67 (1960) 59. The inscription is painted in red on the right wall of the arcosolium. It is 43 cm long and 38 cm high. The letters vary in height from 3–6 cm.
148 See the endnotes in Schwabe and Lifshitz (1974), and Kraemer (1991).
149 Schwabe and Lifshitz (1974) 78. See also Lifshitz (1967).
150 Jerome, *Ep.* 40.16, translated and discussed in Millar (1992) 104.
151 See Ruggini (1959) for a discussion of Jews in Italy and Rabello (2000) for the legal problems of the Jews from the time of Herod to Justinian.
152 John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos, PG.* See Wilken (1983) and Meeks and Wilken (1978) for discussion of the early period, and Av. Cameron (1996) for the relationship between Jews and Byzantine Christians.
153 Holum (1982).
154 Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *The Chronicle,* section 47, translated in Trombley and Watts (2000) 49. The editors suggest that the fiery phenomenon was the aurora borealis, and that the sunspots may have been related to seismic disturbances along the Phoenician coast.
155 See *Cod.Theod.* 16.8.25 (February 15, 423, addressed to the praetorian prefect of Oriens).

9
A CITY OF LAWYERS, PROFESSORS, AND STUDENTS

The lawyers and the law students: construction of identity by education

Berytus was known pre-eminently as a center of legal studies and training in Latin language and literature from the third through the sixth century. Starting with the patronage of the Severan dynasty and continuing through successive changes of emperors and fortunes, Berytus, known as the 'most Roman city,' *polis romaikotera,* of the Greek cities of the East,[1] attracted students who wished to master Roman law from world-renowned professors. Libanius used philosophical language, such as *pankale,* 'all-good, all-noble, all-beautiful,' and *kalliste polis,* 'the beautiful city,'[2] to describe Berytus, the 'mother of laws,' *nomon metera*.[3] Gregory of Nazianzus (328–89 AD) obliquely referred to Berytus as 'the celebrated city of pleasant Phoenicia, the seat of Roman laws.'[4] Zacharias of Mytilene echoed the term 'mother of laws,'[5] which was transmuted to 'nurse of the laws,' *legum nutrix,* in the *Digest*.[6]

In the words of the author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium,* the learned jurisconsults of Berytus could 'guard the provinces' and exert power over the outcome of the legal cases of lesser men.[7]

> Berytus, an utterly charming city, having lecture halls of law upon which [city] all the courts of the Romans appear to depend. For, from there [the city of Berytus], legal scholars preside at the courts throughout all the civilized world and take care of the provinces, to which are sent legal regulations.[8]

The very real position of influence described above, must have caused the law students and their mentors, the jurisconsults, to feel that they were significant persons in their society, both by perceived status and actual power.[9] Such attitudes seem reflected in the careers of many of the graduates of such training. Kathleen McNamee has pointed out that these teachers were called by such terms as 'heroes,' 'the most illustrious teachers,' and 'teachers of the whole world.'[10]

Cultural diversity of the students

The varied ethnic and regional backgrounds of the law students are suggested by our sources. Students like Gregory Thaumaturgus and his brother came from Neocaesarea in Pontus with the intention of studying law at Berytus in the 230s AD.[11] From a papyrus verse epitaph (of perhaps the fourth century) we learn of a student from Cilicia who traveled to Berytus for 'the sake of the Roman muse and the laws.'[12] Through his correspondence, Libanius referred to his former students in Greek and rhetoric who then pursued legal studies in the Latin language in Berytus.[13] Named or addressed in his correspondence of the fourth century were: Hilarinus of Euboea,[14] Artemon of Antioch,[15] and Peregrinus of Tarsus in Cilicia.[16] The two brothers Arcadius and John, of a senatorial family of Constantinople in the time of Constantine, traveled to Berytus to study law there, according to the *Vita Sancti Xenophontis*.[17] Later in the fifth century, from the 'Life of Severus' by Zacharias of Mytilene, we hear of other law students from Armenia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Illyricum, and Lycia.[18]

Such a period of immersion in the language and the laws of Rome must have changed not only the students' scholarly knowledge but also their view of who they were as individuals. Berytus became a center for cultural assimilation and changed self-identity.[19] Although many persons in the Greek East referred to themselves as 'Romans,' surely a period of immersion in the language and the laws of Rome intensified this self-concept.

Now it is clear that most educated residents of the Greek East spoke Greek, no matter what other language they spoke as a regional language.[20] However, Latin was, as before, an entrée to promotion in the Later Roman Empire.[21] It remained an elite language whose use was almost entirely confined in the East to the courtroom, the army, and the court.[22] It was not corrupted by provincial developments that one notes in the Latin of Europe.[23] It was a taught language, somewhat fossilized, which had to be conscientiously studied and mastered by ambitious young men who saw what such knowledge could do for their careers.[24] Ammianus, whose own successes demonstrated the advantages of knowing Latin well,[25] recounted a classic example of career advancement through bilingual competency:

> After Domitianus was dispatched by a cruel death, his successor Musonianus governed the East with the rank of pretorian prefect, a man famed for his command of both languages *[facundia sermonis utriusque clarus],* from which he won higher distinction than was expected. For when Constantine was closely investigating the different religious sects, Manichaeans and the like, and no suitable interpreter could be found, he chose him, as a person recommended to him as competent; and when he had done that duty skilfully, he wished him to be called Musonianus, whereas he had hitherto had the name of Strategius. From that beginning, having run through many grades of honour, he rose to the prefecture. [26]

The usual assumption has been that the bureaucrat's competency in Latin and Greek opened doors for him that led to a very high position. Such a career path appears to have been typical.[27] Latin thus became a marker of class. Libanius's letters indicate that such an education cost a significant amount of money.[28] The money was spent with the intention of realizing some return for the learner. John Chrysostom pinpointed quite crisply the political and social advancement that would come to young men who gained competence in Latin and the law. Although Chrysostom may have been referring to the training available in Antioch or Constantinople as well as Berytus, clearly such benefits would have persuaded ambitious young men to attend the law schools in Berytus.

The real role of influence open to someone who mastered Latin, the language of the Romans,' is revealed in a fourth-century sermon of John Chrysostom which described the rewards of diligence in study.

> When parents urge their children to study [135] rhetoric, all they say are words like this: 'A certain man, of low estate, born of lowly parents, after achieving the power that comes from rhetoric, obtained the highest positions, gained great wealth, married a rich woman, built a splendid house, and is feared and respected by all.' And another one says, 'A certain man after learning Latin became illustrious in the emperor's service and he manages and administers all internal business.'[29]

Clearly, social and political advancement motivated the students who came to Berytus for training. The 'hostile witness' status of Libanius strengthens the weight of his testimony concerning the rewards awaiting those students who acquired mastery of Latin, the language of law and imperial bureaucracy.

> And, moreover, you are open to reproof on the following grounds. Every spring you see the sons of present, or past, members of the council sailing off to Berytus or to Rome, and you are not angry or annoyed, nor do you seek audience with the governors and complain as you should. But who is so dull-witted, such a booby or simpleton as to be incapable of understanding what their trip implies for them? It is out of no concern for justice or to avoid any inadvertent breach of the laws that they set sail for Phoenicia, nor do they sail to the other place so as to assist the council by their proficiency in both languages; their concern is to have their legal or linguistic qualifications as a means of getting out of membership of council. Nor have they been deceived in their ambition. We know what their status should rightly be and what it now is.[30]

These students who were of a curial class were interested in 'elevating' their status further by obtaining the credentials for imperial bureaucratic positions. Libanius bemoaned the loss of students to Latin studies from the traditional curriculum in Greek rhetoric.

> Moreover, as regards my studies, they had now lost ground to Latin even more than before, so that I am afraid that they may, through the agency of law, become completely superseded. Yet it is not law or edicts that have brought this about, but the honour and power reserved for those acquainted with Latin.[31]

The level of opportunity is revealed most clearly in the following oration in which Libanius states that instruction in the laws was open to the sons of artisans. Although his intention was to contrast the 'working class' of students going to Berytus with the 'curial class' of students staying in Antioch, the Antiochene orator affirmed that the law schools were open to young men from disparate backgrounds.

> But indeed, all the time, on the one hand one could see the youths from the workshops [*apo ton ergasterion neous,* artisans] who are concerned about a barely sufficient livelihood, going to Phoenicia to study the laws. On the other hand, those young men of the wealthy houses who have distinguished lineage, property, and fathers who have carried out their curial duties remain in our studies.[32]

Perhaps the most interesting of Libanius's letters to a governor of Phoenicia reveals the ease with which a young student might slip out of the port of Antioch and travel by ship to Berytus, a city apparently more enticing than his home town (*Ep.* 1375(= W1435), pp. 657–8). Although the father Olympius, a rhetor of Antioch, had allowed his older son Hermogenus to study law in Berytus in 363 AD, Libanius writes to Gaianus, the current governor of Phoenicia and demands that he return the younger brother who has slipped away, even if he should weep or say how much he enjoys the city of Berytus. Although this Olympius was not the same orator as the Olympius who was Libanius's closest friend,[33] the letter appears to be genuinely heartfelt. This letter, among many others, reveals the imperious tone that Libanius could adopt in his dealings with the government officials of Phoenicia.[34] It is known that the older brother Hermogenus went on in 365 to become an Assessor for one Domninus who was governor of an unknown province.[35]

> To Gaianus. You know Olympius, a rhetor who is a fellow countryman, very skilled in speaking and in pleading great matters, who has always honored justice. His son is Theodotus, [who is] I would say, not better than the father, yet perhaps not worse. Truly I say these things, not comparing the talents which he now has, but contrasting those of Theodotus with those which Olympius had, when he was the same age as Theodotus. Certainly those writings (rhetorical works) which the son was producing daily, were delightful to the father. For they were such as to excite to applause among the more learned among us, whomever you wish

> [reference to Libanius himself]. And so while we were deliberating whether he ought to devote his effort to public oratory or to plead cases, Olympius reminded the boy of a book which he had lost, having entrusted it to worthless persons, as if they were good people.[36] The father was indignant to the extent that he scolded his son. In truth, nothing harsher than this happened. For the man is very mild towards his own family members, and he does not approve if anyone is too severe towards his sons. To Theodotus, although this was light [treatment], it seemed quite harsh, on account of the habitual affability of the father. Hence, as if the father had done to him what we hear that Amyntor did to Phoenix, the son took himself to the port, and happening to find a ship, is now with you. Indeed it is necessary that you return him to us, whether [he is] willing or [must be] compelled. Truly it is your duty to force him to return, since it is neither right nor expedient that sons should be superior to fathers. Whether he praises the study of laws or says that he loves Berytus or pours forth tears or says anything else, do not let him persuade you to frustrate the efforts of his father, who after he dedicated Hermogenus, the older brother, to the study of laws, wishes this one to be trained in oratory. Send therefore the young man to us, before he has squandered what he has acquired,[37] and thus please the city, beloved by you, consoling Berytus with what it has already received and will have from you.[38] Indeed the father will not sit in judgment over Theodotus, nor will he require him to justify the voyage; but rather he will look on him with the same eyes with which he regarded him before this crime.[39]

Self-identification of the law students and their professors

Self-identification as law students and future lawyers was important to the young men training to become *scholastici* in Berytus. Zacharias, the narrator, recounts this conversation between himself and Severus:

> Severus then promised to do and observe [these precepts]. 'Only,' he said, 'you will not make me a monk. Because I am a law student, and I love the law very much. Now, if you wish to say anything else, say it.'
>
> I was happy, and I said, 'I came to this city for the study of laws and philosophy, for I am diligent in the legal craft. But as you are concerned about your salvation, now I have an undertaking, not to neglect the law, but to gain for us the knowledge of rhetoric, philosophy, and of the sacred Scriptures and theology as well.
>
> 'What is this?' he said. 'For you made a great and strong promise, if possible not to neglect legal studies, but at the same time to gain these other great goods, and especially this [Christianity] that is most important of all.'
>
> [I answered,] 'We are reading the laws, as I have made known, all week, except for Sunday and Saturday afternoon. We will complete the legal

> readings of the teachers and read them on the other days, and then rest during the half-day before Sunday, that day that the law of the *politieia* commands us to make holy to God.[40]

Severus and Zacharias identified themselves primarily as law students and future lawyers at the beginning of their time in Berytus. Their self-identification changed to religious ascetics in the course of their study there. Yet, the expectation that other people, even the bishop of the city or the clergy of the churches, would meet their requests or demands, suggests the self-assurance of the upper classes. Although Severus and Zacharias normally worshipped in the Church of the Theotokos,[41] they visited the Church of St Judas with a specific purpose—the opportunity to borrow books from one of the clergy there. These books seem to have been his own possessions, obtained for his own personal reading. However, the students seemed confident that they would have their request met by John Eudranes who was described as:

> a man who after studying law had taken up the 'philosophic' (read religious) life.[42] He made himself useful to the law students of the city as much by his morals as through the Christian books that he owned, shared, and loaned out.[43]

Latin, indigenous languages, and cultural identity

The students continued to come to Berytus, well into the sixth century. When John Lydus complained about the loss of Latin and attributed to that loss a general decline in other kinds of standards, he may, in fact, have been quite correct. Yet, poignantly, Lydus's lament for Latin was written in Greek so that his intended audience in Constantinople could read it.[44]

Just as Latin was a high-status specific-use language, Greek was of moderate status and of wide currency in the Greek East. Yet Syriac was rising in use and status. Particularly once the hymns of Ephrem revealed the artistry possible in Syriac, one sees an increasing use of the language. Scriptures were translated into Syriac, and many of the saints' lives as well. In an increasingly self-conscious realization that Syriac could expand into other areas of competence, the Syro-Roman lawbook[45] made its appearance. The precise nature of the text, dated to the fifth century or earlier, is unclear. The laws deal with problems of family law, slave ownership, and succession. Perhaps the book is a student's notes from lectures at Berytus or contains operational guidelines for an ecclesiastical court. The key issue is the improved status of an indigenous language because it became the vehicle for transmitting religious writings and legal rules. This esteem for a local language represents a profound shift in the Greek East.[46]

Religion, law, and Late Antique construction of self

Many of the graduates of the legal training offered in Berytus changed their role from lawyer to religious figure. Severus, whose biography tells us so much about the life of the law students in Berytus, is a representative figure, as is his biographer Zacharias of Mytilene.[47] Many ecclesiastical historians have the title *Scholasticus* appended to their names. Even John Malalas bears a name that in Syriac means lawyer.[48]

Thus there are two results of this intertwining of religious practice and legal training.[49] The law tended to become more interested in questions of religion. The very opening words of Justinian's codification of the laws indicates his religious motivation in compiling the laws.[50]

> Governing under the authority of God our empire which was delivered to us by the Heavenly Majesty, we both conduct wars successfully and render peace honorable, and we uphold the condition of the state. We so lift up our minds toward the help of the omnipotent God that we do not place our trust in weapons or our soldiers or our military leaders or our own talents, but we rest all our hopes in the providence of the Supreme Trinity alone, from whence the elements of the whole world proceeded and their disposition throughout the universe was derived.[51]

Religion found a voice which was legalistic. In other words, legal training gave religious leaders the tools of a lawyer—the framing of an indictment, the presentation of evidence, the plea for mercy or conviction, the stipulation of punishment. Such tools were used relentlessly and lawyer-like in the anathemas and counter-anathemas of the church controversies. Even reading the council minutes is reminiscent of reading the proceedings of a court case.[52]

Imperial confirmation of the role of Berytus

The privileged position of the city of Berytus was confirmed in the introduction to the *Digest* (dated 533 AD):

> We desire these three works[53] which we have composed to be handed to students, as ordered now and by previous emperors, only in the royal cities[54] and in the most excellent *civitas* of Berytus, which might well be called the nurse of the law, and not in other places which have earned no such privilege from our predecessors. We say this because we have heard that even in the most splendid *civitas* of Alexandria and in that of Caesarea and others there are unqualified men who take an unauthorized course and impart a spurious erudition to their pupils; we warn them off these endeavors, under the threat that if they should dare to perpetrate such deeds in future and act in this way outside the royal cities and the metropolitan

> city of Berytus, they are to be punished by a fine of ten pounds of gold and be driven from the *civitas* in which they commit a crime against the law instead of teaching it.[55]

Concrete evidence of the dispersal of the laws, possibly from Berytus itself, comes from legal texts written in such a distinctive Eastern hand that Bischoff has suggested that they were copies of the laws made in Berytus before the codification of *Justinian's Code*. They may represent working texts for lawyers, professors, and students, or they may be imperial copies for distributing elsewhere. In any case, the law schools of Berytus affirmed the Roman character of the empire by preserving both the language of the laws and the rigorous training therein. The schools fostered self-identification by profession, political allegiance, and advancement in both church and state.

Education in Roman Berytus

In Berytus, a Roman colony, the preservation of instruction in Latin language and literature seems to have been a priority, perhaps due to the number of Roman veterans who settled there.[56] They apparently created an atmosphere in which they perpetuated the Roman way of life, as evidenced by the number of Latin inscriptions which have survived there.[57]

The powerful story of *Phoenissa Dido* in the *Aeneid* who hosted the great Roman hero Aeneas in Carthage was always a part of the Latin canon of the best texts. However, the story of a Tyrian ruler who outshone the Romans in virtues must have resonated with special emotional affect in not only Tyre and Sidon but also in nearby Berytus.[58] Students in a city populated by the descendants of the veterans of the battle of Actium[59] must have found the story doubly interesting.

One of these Berytian readers of Virgil, M.Valerius Probus, became a respected commentator on the *Aeneid*. Suetonius tells us:

> Marcus Valerius Probus, of Berytus, long sought the centurionate but finally gave up in disgust and devoted himself to scholarship. For he had previously read certain old books with a *grammatista* in the province, where the memory of the ancient authors was still alive and had not yet passed entirely away as it had at Rome…he left behind an abundant trove of observations on ancient usage.[60]

Although Probus produced his work at Rome, it seems likely that he was descended from one of the original Berytian veteran colonists from whom he may have inherited not only an interest in Roman military service and classical texts but also his knowledge of the ancient forms of Latin.[61] Probus's reputation for erudition was such that Jerome later described him as 'the most learned of the scholars at Rome.'[62]

It is not clear how the tradition of legal instruction began in Berytus, but perhaps it grew out of the schools of literature that seem to have flourished there. Henry MacAdam has suggested that legal instruction developed in the time of Hadrian.[63] However, it is not until the era of the Severan dynasty that we begin to hear of law students in Berytus. Also it is clear that the Severans took an interest in issuing laws and using famous jurists.[64] It has also been suggested that the site of legal studies was originally Tyre in the time of the Severan dynasty and, over time, the schools in Berytus outstripped those in Tyre and grew in reputation so that by the third century they were well established in Berytus.

Professors of the third and fourth centuries

Gaius was a famous law professor who was lecturing in 160–1 and was still alive in 178. Honoré suggests that Gaius was educated in Rome but worked and taught in the East, perhaps Berytus. However, as Ulpian does not know his work, I find this suggestion questionable. A fifth-century manuscript of his lectures, the *Institutes,* survives as the most important legal work of the Principate: 521 of his passages were excerpted by the codifiers of Justinian's Code. After his work became known in Rome, by the Law of Citations he was to be cited, along with Ulpian, Papinianus, Paulus, Ulpianus, and Modestinus.[65]

Domitius Ulpianus, usually referred to as Ulpian, came from Tyre. He began drafting rescripts for Septimius Severus from 202 to 209-He also worked under Caracalla, but was finally killed by the praetorian guard in 223. His work comprises two-fifths of Justinian's *Digest,* due to the Law of Citations in 426.[66]

Students in Berytus in the third century

Gregory Thaumaturgus (*c.* 213 to *c.* 275 AD) appears to be the earliest clearly documented law student connected to Berytus. Fergus Millar has recently focused attention on this personal account of Gregory's initial exposure to Latin in his home province from his tutor there. He seems here to be referring to a sort of guardian angel who is guiding his interest in further education, particularly in the study of law:

> But, unsleeping as he was, my divine pedagogue and true guardian, although my family had not conceived of this idea and nor did I myself have the impulse, inspired one of my teachers, who was in any case entrusted with teaching me the Latin language (not with the idea that I should reach a high level, but so that I should not be entirely ignorant of that language—and he happened to be not unversed in the laws). By putting this idea into his head, (my divine guardian) encouraged me through him to study the Roman laws thoroughly…(My teacher) also added an observation, which turned out in my case the truest of all: the study of the laws would be for me the fullest of travelling-allowances (for

> this was the word which he used), whether I wished to be one of the rhetors who compete in the courts, or to follow some other way of life.[67]

Gregory and his brother Athenodorus set forth from Neocaesarea, Pontus (formerly Cabeira, modern Niksar), with the intention of studying law at Berytus in the 230s AD.[68] Gregory then went on to study at Gaza with Origen, and subsequently returned to Neocaesarea. In Pontus he became a bishop.

Jerome, Socrates Scholasticus, and Cassiodorus record Gregory's desire to study law in Berytus.[69] Their narratives make it clear that Berytus was regarded as the best-known site for legal studies in Late Antiquity in competition with Gaza for students. Gaza was perceived as a more Christian city in the mid-third century.[70] Here is Jerome's description of the promising young student:

> Theodorus, afterwards called Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, while yet a very young man, in company with his brother Athenodorus, went from Cappadocia to Berytus, and thence to Caesarea in Palestine to study Greek and Latin literature. When Origen had seen the remarkable natural ability of these men, he urged them to study philosophy, in the teaching of which he gradually introduced the matter of faith in Christ, and made them also his followers. So, instructed by him for five years, they were sent back by him to their mother. Theodorus, on his departure, wrote a panegyric of thanks to Origen, and delivered it before a large assembly, Origen himself being present. This panegyric is extant to this day. He wrote also a short, but very valuable paraphrase, *On Ecclesiastes,* and current report speaks of other epistles of his, but more especially of the signs and wonders, which as bishop, he performed to the great glory of the churches.[71]

Severinus (286–93 AD) and his fellow law students from the province of Arabia are known to us from an edict of Diocletian and Maximian which has been preserved in Justinian's Code.[72] Since the ruling was kept active for over three centuries, it would seem that it had remained relevant through time. Some of the young men who came to Berytus for legal studies were in a legal limbo' concerning their curial duties to their places of origin. The need to clarify the civil responsibilities of such students indicates the typical class from which they came at this time. In the following rescript, Diocletian clearly stated that students at Berytus would have until the age of twenty-five to conclude their studies and then might expect to be recalled to their home provinces to be liable for *munera* there.

> Since you affirm that you are giving attention to liberal studies, especially concerning the profession of law, by staying in the *civitas* of the Berytians of the province of Phoenicia *[in civitate Berytiorum provinvciae Phoenices],* we decree that it be provided for public usefulness and for our

> hope, that individuals not be called away from their studies until the twenty-fifth year of their age.[73]

In a related rescript issued by Severus Alexander (quoting an *epistula* of Hadrian), the clear ruling was given that residence in a city for the sake of studies did not change one's home city to which *munera* were owed.[74] Thus, such students could be exempt in some cases from curial duties at Berytus, unless Berytus was the city of their father's birth.[75] However, it appears that under some circumstances, students from smaller cities could be compelled to assume the duties of the *decuriones* while they were students at the larger city. Teachers of one sort or another appear to have been exempt from curial responsibilities.[76]

Pamphilus (*c*. 240/250–309 AD) was born in Berytus and educated there. Although it is not clear that he studied the law there, it is certain that he pursued a rigorous course of study. He subsequently founded a school at Caesarea in Palestine and established an important library of 30,000 volumes. He was the panegyrist of Origen and was commemorated by Eusebius who recorded his death as a martyr death under Maximian in 309.[77]

> He was moreover from the city of the Berytians where he spent the early part of his youth in the studies of the gymnasia. After he reached manhood, he passed to the study of sacred literature.[78]

Appian and Ardesius were brothers who came to Berytus to study. At the behest of their father who desired the best possible education for his sons, the brothers left their home in Paga, Lycia. Aedesius pursued philosophy while Appian trained in rhetoric and then mastered Roman law. They were converted to Christianity by fellow students in Berytus. Subsequently, they were martyred, Appian in Caesarea, and Aedesius in Alexandria. Their stories are preserved by Eusebius in his account of the *Martyrs of Palestine*.[79]

Students in the fourth century

An unnamed student from Cilicia has been commemorated in a papyrus verse epitaph (of perhaps the fourth century). He was described as one who traveled to Berytus for 'the sake of the Roman muse and the laws.'[80]

Arcadius and John of Constantinople came from a senatorial family of Constantinople in the time of Constantine.[81] They traveled to Berytus to study law there, according to the *Vita Sancti Xenophontis*. They had previously studied Greek, philosophy, and rhetoric.[82]

Another known student from Berytus also mastered both Greek and Latin at a very high level. According to Sozomen, Triphyllius, bishop of Ledron in Cyprus, scandalized Spiridion, bishop of Trimithonte in Cyprus (died 348), because of his 'atticism' and his refusal to speak Greek in the language of the evangelists.

Triphyllius had studied the law in Berytus as a young man. He is described thus: Triphyllius, bishop of Ledron, a learned man, who had lingered in the city of Berytus for the study of the laws.'[83]

The careers of many important persons in Late Antiquity began with a legal education in Berytus. The career of one of the more famous alumni of the law schools may suggest the possibilities. Anatolius, the Prefect of Illyricum under Julian, was a native of Berytus who rose through the ranks and was highly regarded for his integrity and concern for the governed in his prefecture.[84] His own city may have missed his contribution to the *curia;* surely, the empire profited from his service in a wider arena. Anatolius brought to imperial service all the qualities that were admired in the curial classes: a fine rhetorical training[85] which was evident in his 'oratorical competition' in Athens (described in a subsequent passage) and a desire to gain glory by political service in Rome. It should be noted that recognition in Athens and in Rome were still the measure of success for a Syrian at this particular period.

> Now in these days the throng at the imperial court produced a man who passionately desired both fame and eloquence. He came from the city of Berytus and was called Anatolius.[86] Those who envied him nicknamed him Azutrion,[87] and what that name means I leave to that miserable band of mummers to decide! But Anatolius who desired fame and eloquence achieved both these things. For first he won the highest distinction in what is called the science of law, as was natural since his birthplace was Berytus, the foster-mother of all such studies. Then he sailed to Rome where, since his wisdom and eloquence were elevated and weighty, he made his way to court. There he soon obtained the highest rank, and after holding every high office and winning a great reputation in many official positions (and indeed even his enemies admired him), he finally attained to the rank of pretorian prefect, a magistracy which, though it lacks the imperial purple, exercises imperial power. He had now attained to a fortune in accord with his lofty ambition (for the district called Illyricum had been assigned to him).[88]

Thus a distinguished citizen of Berytus, undoubtedly of the curial class as indicated by his education and friendship with a man like Libanius,[89] did not serve out his full political career in the *curia* of his own city or even in his own province, but rose to power as the Pretorian Prefect of one of the four prefectures of the empire.[90]

Professors of the fourth century

Some of the teachers appear to have been very highly trained in Greek language and philosophy, such as Apollinaris (*c.* 310 AD to *c.* 390 AD) who taught for a while in Berytus.[91]

> There were at Laodicea in Syria a father and son each named Apollinaris, the former of whom was a presbyster and the latter a reader in that Church. Both taught Greek literature, the father grammar, and the son rhetoric. The elder was a native of Alexandria, and at first taught at Berytus, and afterwards removed to Laodicea, where he married, and the younger Apollinaris was born. Epiphanius the sophist was their contemporary, with whom they formed an intimate acquaintance.[92]

Apollinaris was bishop of Laodikeia, his birthplace, from 360 AD onwards. As a friend of Athanasius, he wrote polemics against Arius and Diodorus of Tarsus. He developed a christology which stressed the divine element of Christ. He was seen as Athanasius' successor; but when he became embroiled with Basil the Great, his teachings were condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381. He was labeled as a precursor to Monophysistism and a heretic whose works were destroyed, or preserved under muddled names. He was known for imitating the classical Greek authors in his religious writings. He sought to replace Homer by a work in 24 parts which covered Hebrew history from the Creation to the reign of Saul.[93] He also imitated Pindar, Euripides, and Menander in writing on themes of Holy Scripture. He also wrote hymns for church services as well as songs in praise of God to be sung at work and play.[94] He also retold the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues, none of which have survived.[95]

Fourth-century professors known from the letters of Libanius

Domninus was a teacher of law at Berytus, from 356–64. Collinet considers Domninus the one certain law professor at Berytus in the fourth century.[96] Scylacius was also a law-teacher in Berytus in 363 AD. He was a native of Greece and a pagan.[97]

Sebastianus seems to have been a law professor at Berytus, in 388 AD when Libanius wrote to ask him to help a student there.[98]

Students known from the letters of Libanius

The letters of Libanius offer a great deal of information about life in Berytus as well as in Antioch.[99] Several students in Berytus are known from the fourth-century correspondence of Libanius. Some benefitted from direct letters of reference while others were mentioned in passing comments. At any rate, it is clear that Libanius concerned himself with the students in the law schools of the Roman colony.[100]

Artemon of Antioch was mentioned in a letter to Domininus, a professor of law at Berytus, in the summer of 356. Artemon had been asked to bring the letter to his professor.[101] Hilarinus of Euboea is mentioned in a letter written to Anatolius, *consularis Phoenices,* in the summer of 361 AD. Libanius also

commended him to Domninus the professor of law. It is in this context that Libanius refers to Berytus as *ten ton nomon metera,* 'the mother of laws.'[102]

Peregrinus was one of three sons of Hierius, a Cilician of Tarsus, who had entered the school of Libanius in 358. Libanius wrote to Hierius in the summer of 365 on the subject of Peregrinus, who was then studying law in Berytus, and said that the 'the excellent teacher…who explicated the laws' was poor and for that reason had asked for a large salary. Libanius futher commented that the profit for the young man in the future would be worth the expense to the father now.[103]

Scylacius is listed as a law student in Collinet. His relation to the professor of the same name is not known.[104] Flavianus of Bithynia was asked to carry a letter to Anatolius, the consular of Phoenicia, in the year 361.[105]

Gaianus of Tyre, who was later the governor of Phoenicia, was a pagan who had studied in Phoenicia, most reasonably in Berytus, according to Collinet.[106]

Hermogenus of Antioch, first-born son of Olympius, the rhetor of Antioch, studied law in Berytus in 363, as a letter to Gaianus reveals. See the relevant letter concerning the runaway student which has been discussed on pp. 197–8.[107]

Apringius who was an advocate, perhaps at Antioch in 355–64 AD is known to us from three letters which Libanius wrote on his behalf from March to April in AD 364.[108] His wife was a sister of Fraternus, a Phoenician by descent, who had become a senator in Constantinople.[109] He was of the curial class and well-connected.[110] Both he and his father were lawyers,[111] but Apringius desired to improve his legal skills by studying law in Berytus. Libanius attempted to secure assistance for his former student[112] by writing to Marius, *consules Phoenices*. In writing to Megithius who had once been a lawyer in Constantinople, but who was now established in Berytus, Libanius noted that 'all good lawyers travel to Berytus.'[113] In the letters to Dominus, a professor of law in the city, Libanius urged that Apringius's course of study should be expedited by his future teacher:

> To Domninus: Thus, you inspire men of maturity to pursue occupations of the young. Apringius, our friend, after several trials before the bar (tribunal), has come to you to study law, because it is from you alone that he can acquire this knowledge… Try to shorten the time of his studies so that he can put his knowledge to practice. I will also entreat you insofar as tuition is concerned. He is a good man but poor, and although he cannot give much in payment now, he remembers favors.[114]

Theodorus, a native of Arabia had studied law at Berytus and then rhetoric at Antioch. He had begun to practice as an advocate at Antioch by 358 AD. He was Governor in the Asian diocese in 364–5. He was a pagan who had two sons, one of whom, also called Theodorus, was a pupil of Libanius in about 354.[115]

It seems clear that study in Berytus might well lead to subsequent studies and career advancement in Antioch. It is noteworthy that students continued to come from Arabia to Phoenicia and that the path to imperial success lay to the north in

this period. One is tempted to postulate that lawyers from Berytus had some role in the formation of the Theodosian Code as they were to do for Justinian's Code but this is unprovable at this point.[116]

The fifth century in Berytus

In mid-fifth century Berytus there were clearly close social and familial ties between the bishop and one of the law professors because they were brothers.[117] The bishop Eusthatius and his brother Auxonius, who was described as an 'interpreter of laws,' or a 'professor of law,'[118] are known to us from the story about two other brothers. When Timothy Aelurus of Alexandria,[119] the monophysite bishop of Alexandria, with his brother Anatolius, passed through Berytus on his way to Gangra of Paphlagonia, the place of his exile,[120] they resided with the bishop and the law professor in Berytus. A closer look at this narrative from the *Chronique syriaque* provides important details about life in this city in the mid-fifth century:

> And when he [Timothy] arrived at Berytus, Eustace [Eustathius] the bishop urged the citizens there to receive him with public honour.
>
> And he begged Timothy, upon his entry into the city, to pray for it; and the latter stood in the midst of the city and made supplications and prayers to God for it, and blessed it.
>
> But Auxonius, the brother of Eustace, who was at that time an interpreter of the law, acting upon the advice of his brother, spent the whole night with Timothy, speaking earnestly about the faith, and against Nestorius. And during the whole of his long discourse Timothy was a silent listener, but when at length Auxonius, after many words, ceased speaking, Timothy said to him, 'Who could persuade me that these three fingers should write upon the paper of Chalcedon?' And, upon hearing this, Auxonius was very sad, and began to weep.
>
> Then Timothy, encouraging both him and his brother Eustace, who afterwards joined them, said, 'Attach yourselves to me, and let us contend together for the faith, and let us prevail; so that either we shall recover our bishoprics, or else, we shall be driven into banishment by our enemies, and live a sincere life with God.' And he alleged as an excuse the dedication of a church, a great temple which Eustace built and named, 'Anastasia'; and Timothy said, 'Shall we wait for the dedication of an earthly temple? But if you obey me, then we shall hold our festival in the heavenly Jerusalem?'[121]

Collinet suggests a date of May or June 460 for the dedication of the church, since Timothy arrived in Gangra in June 460. Collinet notes that Eustathius was bishop of Berytus in 445, and that the new bishop's palace of the new church in Berytus served as the setting for the meeting of the three commissioners—

Photius, Uranius, and Eustathius, bishop for Berytus—to hear the charges against Ibas of Edessa, in either 448 or 449.[122] Thus Collinet supposes that the church and the adjoining buildings were finished eleven years before they were dedicated. He notes a similarly long delay in the dedication of Hagia Sophia, which was built between 532 and 537, but was not dedicated until 24 December 562.[123] The meeting to decide the case of Ibas was held 'in the Christ-loving colony of Berytus…in the new bishopric of Berytus in the very holy new church' as recorded both in the Greek and Latin accounts.[124]

Known law professors from the fifth and sixth centuries

Cyrillus was a jurist at Berytus, in perhaps the middle of the fifth century. He was one of the five famous jurists whose opinions were cited by sixth century commentators on the Digest and the *Codex Iustinianus*.[125] He taught at Berytus[126] and was called 'the common teacher of the whole world.'[127] The other four jurists were Demosthenes 2, Domninus 5, Eudoxius 4, and Patricus 10 who apparently lived no later than the reign of Anastasius because they seem unaware that a previous legal ruling had been altered by Anastasius.[128] Two of these seem to have taught either at Constantinople or at Berytus: Demosthenes[129] and Domninus.[130]

Presumably Eudoxius is another one of these five law professors. He was father of Leontius and grandfather of Anatolius. He was a famous lawyer and taught at Berytus. He is presumably identical with the jurist Eudoxius whose opinions were cited by sixth-century commentators on *Codex Iustinianus*. He lived no later than the reign of Anastasius.[131]

Leontius may be the most famous professor of law at Berytus, in the late fifth to early sixth centuries. He was the son of Eudoxius and father of Anatolius, In the late 480s his classes were attended by Zacharias and Severus (later bishop of Antioch). He appears to have been a persistent pagan who was reputedly involved with magic books, horoscopes, and other prohibited materials.[132]

Another well-known professor of law in Berytus was Patricius [Patrikios] who was both a professor of law at Berytus and honorary QSP (East), from the middle to late fifth century. He was the father of yet another Leontius and appears to have died by 533. He is presumbaly identical with the jurist Patricius whose opinions were often cited by sixth-century commentators on the *Codex Iustinianus*.[133]

Collinet suggests that an inscription found in Beirut near the ancient church, Saint Georges of the Greek Orthodox and Maronites, was erected to honor one of the more famous of the law professors in Berytus. Published in 1906 by Jalabert, the inscription had already disappeared by 1925.[134] The inscription was beautifully engraved on a well-polished bloc of limestone (0 m, 35×0 m, 45). The inscription is fragmentary and heavily restored and yet it does suggest the place of honor held by jurists in Berytus.

. . . . . α Πατρικιος στη. . . . .
. . . ας ἐκ βασιλῆος . . .
. . . ρης θεσμῶν ἐπα . . .
. . .μ' ηὔρατο τοῦτον . . .
. . . Αὐσονίων σεβα[στο . .]
. . . . στορος εὖχος.[135]

Although only a few words are legible, Collinet has some suggestive interpretations to offer. He takes the terms *θεσμῶν* and *Αὐσονίων* to refer to the 'laws of the Romans,' based on the phrase from a poem by Gregory of Nazianzus, in his poem 'Nicobulus to his son,' in which he refers to Berytus obliquely as:

....εἴτε σε τερπνῆς
Φοινίκης κλυτὸν ἄστυ, νόμων ἕδος Αὐσονιήων[136]
'the celebrated city of lovely Phoenicia, seat of Roman laws.'

The word *εὖχος* 'glory,' is related to the fragment…*στορος* which Collinet suggests restoring as *[ἵ]στορος* 'expert,' or *[κτί]στορος* 'founder,' Either term would be appropriate for an illustrious professor of law in Berytus.[137]

The son of Patricius was Leontius who, in Justinian's Code, was called *vir gloriosissimus praefectorius et consularis et patricius* (PPO [Orientis], ex-consul, and *patricius*). As a famous professor of law, he was even commended by John Lydus for his expertise in the law. Lydus also mentions that Leontius was PPO (Orientis) in 510 AD when Apion was exiled.[138] He is attested in office between 500 and 518, and a prefectorial edict of his is extant. Because his name is not in the consular *Fasti,* he must have been an honorary consul. He seems to have been still alive in 533.[139]

The most important law professor from Berytus was Dorotheus because he served an important role in the formulation of Justinian's Code.[140] He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the *Digest* and for the second edition of the *Codex Justinianus*.[141] Dorotheus is described as a very eloquent speaker, who was highly regarded for his ability to teach his students.[142]

> Dorotheus, *vir illustris,* a most eloquent man of quaestorian rank whom, when he was engaged in transmitting [knowledge of] the laws to pupils in the most splendid *civitas* of Berytus, we summoned to us, on account of his very great reputation and renown, and caused to participate in this work.[143]

The members of the commission were selected by Tribonian himself for their knowledge of the law, according to his instructions in Justinian *Const. Omnem* 'Deo auctore' (a. 530 Dec. 15). Dorotheus also joined Tribonian and Theophilus in 533 on a special subcommittee which compiled the *Institutes* which became

the standard text for law students.[144] In 534 he served on the commission on the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*.[145] He subsequently compiled an Index to the *Digest,* which is not extant but was cited among the *scholia* to the *Basilica* and was known to Stephanus 18; the work was not published before 542. Brandsma speculates that Dorotheus died in 542, based on some evidence in the marginal notes (the *scholia*).[146]

Anatolius also had a role in formulating Justinian's Code.[147] Justinian says of him in the 'Confirmation of the *Digest'* 9;

> Anatolius, *vir illustris* and *magister,* who was deputed to this work while a professor of law at Berytus, a man of ancient legal stock, since both his father Leontius and his grandfather Eudoxius left behind them an excellent reputation in legal learning.[148]

The Greek version of this passage adds the detail of the location of Berytus in Phoenicia and thereby suggests that this provincial affiliation was significant to the Greek-speaking citizens of the Later Roman Empire. [149]

Thus the greatest work of Roman law was compiled with the guidance of several law professors from Berytus. The fact that they were invited to come to Constantinople attests not only to their individual reputations, but also to the general perception that Berytus in Phoenicia was a unique city which had preserved the law for generations to come. Such a reputation must have mattered not only to the professors and students but also to the citizens of the city as well. Participation in this project may suggest that the major professors had converted to Christianity, since part of the formulation of the code also included anti-pagan legislation.[150]

Although the connections are difficult to trace from this distance in time, there certainly seems to have been some long-term influence in the city by leading families. We may note the recurrence of such names as Leontius and Anatolius, for example. It seems very likely that these families of lawyers came to be honored not only for their own skills as teachers and interpreters of the law, but also as preservers of the rich tradition of Latin literature and Roman law. Honoré has drawn attention to the erudition of Tribonian and has suggested that his preference for Gaius may have come from being trained in the law schools of Berytus. It is hard to know without confirmation from ancient sources; nevertheless, the purity of his Latin usage and his knowledge of ancient Latin authors and jurists suggest that he may have studied with these particular professors or their predecessors in Berytus.[151]

Notes

1 *Polis romaikotera,* the description of Berytus given by Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyricus in Originem* 5.58–9 (239) in *PG* 10, 1065–6.

2 Libanius, *Ep.* 438.5 (355 AD) and *Ep.* 1529.1 (365 AD). McNamee (1998) 270, note 5.

3 Libanius, *Ep.* 652.1, in 361 AD, in a letter to Anatolius, *consularis Phoenices.* Cf. Justinian's terms for the city in the *Cod. Just.,* such as 'nurse of laws.'

4 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.2.5 *(Nicobuli patris ad filum),* verses 226–7, *PG* 37.1538. The name of the city was supplied by Bilius, the author of a metric translation of the same verses: 'Seu magis arridet tibi Berytus, est ubi sedes/ Legibus Ausoniis.' Collinet (1925) 35.

5 *meter nomon,* Zacharias of Mytilene, *De opificio mundi.* (Boissonade edn) 84. Collinet (1925) 51, 54, and 209.

6 Justinian, *Const. Omnem* 7. Collinet (1925) 53.

7 See previous discussion of this passage in the section on the urban matrix of Late Antique Berytus (pp. 67–8).

8 'Berytus, civitas valde deliciosa et auditoria legum habens per quam omnia iudicia Romanorum [stare videntur], Inde enim viri in omnem orbem terrarum adsident iudicibus et scientes leges custodiunt provincias, quibus mittuntur legum ordinationes.' *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* XXV, E, Rougé edition, 158–60. My translation of the Latin passage (which has been amended by comparison with XXV, D).

9 See Vidén (1984), Brandsma (1996), and Honoré (1978) for the careers of the chancery lawyers, Dorotheus, and Tribonian. See now also Mathisen (2001) and Greatrex (2001).

10 McNamee (1995b), citing the *Basilicorum libri* LX, excerpts of sixth-century commentaries on the fifth-century teachers of law at Berytus. See also *PBerol.* inv. 10559, published as Schubart and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1907) which consists of panegyrics by students of teachers, probably of law, from Berytus.

11 Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyricus in Origenem, PG* 10.1065–6. See also H. Crouzel, *Gregoire le Thaumaturge Remercient à Origene* (*SC* 148:1969), 5/62. Quoted and discussed in Millar (1990) 16, note 42.

12 Text given in Gilliam (1974). See also *SEG* 26.1456, with references to the literature; cited by Millar (1990) 17, note 43.

13 See Petit (1955) and (1956); Seeck (1966); Liebeschuetz (1972) and (2000a).

14 Libanius, writing to Anatolius, *consularis Phoenices,* in the Summer of 361 AD about his student Hilarinus, a Greek from Euboea. See *Libanii Opera,* Foerster ed., vol. 10 (1921), *Ep.* 652, p. 596.

15 Libanius, writing to Domninus, a professor of law at Berytus, in the summer of 356 AD. See *Libanii Opera,* Foerster ed., vol. 10, *Ep.* 533, pp. 501–2.

16 Libanius, writing to Hierius the father, urging him to be generous in tuition to the teacher who was excellent but poor. See *Libanii Opera,* Foerster ed., vol. 11, *Ep.* 1539, p. 558.

17 *Vita et Res Gestae Sancti Xenophontis, et filiorum eius Joannis et Arcadii. Acta Sanctorum Januarius* III (1863) 338–45.

18 *Vie de Sévère, pp.* 55–7.

19 See L.J.Hall (1999) for fuller treatment of this topic.

20 Adams (2003); L.J.Hall (1999); J.W.Drijvers (1996); Millar (1999b); McCormick (1981).

21 Anderson (1991) writes about more modern times, but his observations are enlightening on the construction of self by the acquisition of an imperial language.

22 Dagron (1969); MacMullen 1966).
23 Palmer (1954); Adams (2003).
24 Thomas (1959); Baldwin (1985).
25 See Jenkins (1985) for a detailed study of Ammianus's knowledge of the major Latin writers. See also Geiger (1996); Trahman (1942); and Casson and Hettich (1950).
26 Ammianus Marcellinus 15.13.1–2; Rolfe translation 1:198–9. See J.W. Drivjers (1996) who examines this passage in full and argues for the bureaucrat's knowledge of a Semitic language rather than Latin. However, since the government operated in Latin and Greek, it seems to me that these must be the two languages mentioned.
27 See the career of John Lydus, discussed in Maas (1992), and other bureaucrats, discussed in Vidén (1984).
28 See Petit (1955) and Liebeschuetz (1972) for useful citations and discussion.
29 John Chrysostom *Adversus oppugn. vitae monasticae* III.5 in *PG* 47.357; translated in D.G.Hunter (1988), pp. 134–5; discussed in Trahman (1942) 70.
30 Libanius, *Opera* (Foerster ed.) vol. 3, pp. 438–9, *Oratio* 48.22, *Libanii oratio ad Senatum Antiochum;* translated by Norman (1977) 2:438–41.
31 Libanius, *Autobiography* 234; Norman translation (1992) 1:291.
32 Libanius, *Oratio* 62.21, Foerster ed., vol. 4, p. 356. Discussion and French translation in Collinet (1925) 37–8. My translation; compare to Norman (2000) 95.
33 Libanius's close friend was Olympius 3 *(PLRE)* who was a childless Senator and the brother of the bishop. He was a rhetor and may have served as an advocate (lawyer). This Olympius of the letter is Olympius 8 *(PLRE)*. Personal communication, Wolf Liebeschuetz, May 2001.
34 Libanius, *Ep.* 1375 F [=W1435, pp. 657–8]. See Collinet (1925) 88. Liebeschuetz, 243–4, describes this student as a runaway. See Domninus II in Seeck, p. 124.
35 Libanius, *Ep.* 1375. Collinet (1925) 88. Liebeschuetz, 243–4, describes this student as a runaway. See Domninus II in Seeck (1966) 124.
36 See Norman (1960) and Cagnat (1906) on the value of books.
37 Liebeschuetz suggests that this refers to the rhetorical skills he has acquired in Antioch [personal communication May 2001], but I think it may refer to some savings the young man had with him.
38 Liebeschuetz would suggest that the city is Antioch with the idea that it was beloved by Gaianus since he had been Assessor there. The sense of the sentence is therefore: 'Antioch, the hometown of Theodotus, will be pleased by getting the young man back, and Berytus will be consoled by the loss of the young man by the benefits it has received and will receive from the governor' [personal communication, May 2001].
39 My translation, with suggestions from Wolf Liebeschuetz.
40 Young (1990) 321–2, translating *Vie de Sévère* 52–3.
41 '…each day we went to the church [of the Theotokos] for evening prayers.' Young (1990) 322 translating *Vie de SévèZre* 54.
42 This is a reference to the monastic lifestyle.
43 Trombley (1993) 2:38, translating *Vie de Sévère* 63–4.
44 John Lydus, *On Powers* 2.12; Bandy translation 100–3.
45 Vööbus (1982) gives the text and translation. Prior to publishing the text and translation, Vööbus (1973) and (1975) expressed some ideas about the nature of the

text itself which he considers to have influenced Islamic law through the translations into Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. See Crone (1987) for the relationship of Roman, provincial, and Islamic law.

46 Brock (1975), (1977), (1982), and (1984).

47 Brooks (1904).

48 See Chesnut (1986) for the background of Sozomen and Socrates who call themselves *scholasticus,* 'lawyer,' and Jeffreys, Croke, and Scott (1990) for a study of John Malalas.

49 See P.Brown (1992) for the connection between power and persuasion, that is the training in rhetoric.

50 Legal course at Berytus in *Dig. const. Omnem;* law teaching limited to Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus in *Dig. const. Omnem 7.* See A.H.M.Jones (1964) 999, note 33.

51 *De Conceptione Digestorum* 1. Latin text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) xlvi s.v. The Composition of the *Digest.'*

52 Gaudemet (1983); Greatrex (2001); Harries (1986); Lim (1995).

53 The *Digest,* the *Institutes,* and the *Codex Justinianus*.

54 Rome and Constantinople.

55

> Haec autem tria volumina a nobis composita tradi eis tam in regiis civitiatibus quam in Berytiensium pulcherrima civitate, quam et legum nutricem bene quis appellet, tantummodo volumus, quod iam et a retro principibus constitutum est, et non in aliis locis quae a maioribus tale non meruerint privilegium; quia audivimus etiam in Alexandrina splendissima civitate et in Caesariensium et in aliis quosdam imperitos homines devagare et doctrinam discipulis adulterinam tradere; quos sub hac interminatione ab hoc conamine repellimus, ut, si ausi fuerint in posterum hoc perpetrare et extra urbes regias et Berytiensium metropolim hoc facere, denarum librarum auri poena plectantur et reiciantur ab ea civitate, in qua leges docent, sed in leges committunt.
>
> *Digest Constitutio Omnis* 7. Latin text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) liii, s.v. The Whole Body of Law.'

56 See L.J.Hall (1999), (2001–2), and (2003).

57 Marrou (1956); Dihle (1994); C.H.Moore (1924); see Wright (1993) for an example of an illustrated edition of the *Aeneid*.

58 For local identification with the Dido legend, see Hexter (1992). For the emotional affect on a reader such as Augustine, see MacCormack (1998) 89–100 and Desmond (1993). The influence of Virgil has even been detected in the *Geoponika,* an agricultural handbook attributed ultimately to Vindanios Anatolius of fourth-century Berytus; see Rodgers (1978).

59 See Baldwin (1976) 361–8 (1982b) 81–92; and (1985) 237–41 for the study of the *Aeneid* in the Greek East. See Dihle (1994) for a general survey of the study of Greek and Latin literature in antiquity, up to the time of Justinian.

60 'M.Valerius Probus, Berytius, diu centuriatum petit, donec taedio ad studia se contulit. Legerat in provinciam quosdam veteres libellos apud grammatistam, durante adhuc ibi antiquorum memoria necdum omnino abolita sicut Romae…

reliquit autem non mediocrem silvam observationum sermonis antiqui.' Kaster (1995) 28–9.

61 Kaster (1995) 242–69; Millar (1990) 16.

62 'Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur.' Jerome (Hieronymus), *Chronicon* s.a. 2072=AD 56. Kaster (1995) 243.

63 MacAdam (2001) and (2001–2).

64 Honoré (1962b) and (1982); Garnsey (1967); W.Williams (1974); Westerman and Schiller (1954).

65 Gaius (2)=(RE 2), 2), OCD3, p. 620. Honoré (1962a).

66 Domitius (*RE* 88) Ulpianus, OCD3, p. 493. Honoré (1982).

67 Millar (1999b), 106–7, translating Gregory's *Address,* 5.57–61, from the text edited by Crouzel (1969).

68 Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyricus in Origenem, PG* 10.1065–6; Crouzel, ed., (1969); Millar (1990) 16, note 42.

69 Collinet (1925) 27, suggests that Gregory Thaumaturgus, actually studied at Gaza, based on the evidence of the panegyric to Origen. However, John F. Matthews, OCD3, *s.v.* 'Gregory (4) Thaumaturgus,' accepts that he studied at Berytus. For Jerome, see below. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE* 1.4.27, in *PG* 67.535–6. Cassiodorus, *Hist. Tripartita,* 8.8, in *PL* 69.1116.

70 See G.Downey (1963) for a study of Gaza in Late Antiquity.

71 Jerome (Hieronymus), *De Viris Inlustribus Liber,* caput LXV (Teubner edition); also in *PL* 23.675–6. Fremantle translation, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* vol. 3, p. 379.

72 *PLRE* I, Severinus I.

73 *Cod. Just.* 10.50.1. *Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. Severino et ceteris scholasticis Arabiis*. Discussion in Millar (1990) 17. My translation.

74 *Cod. Just.* 10.39.2 Translation and discussion in Millar (1983a) 81.

75 *Cod. Just.* 10.39–3. *Imp. Philippus a. Patroclo.* Discussion of *domicilium* and *origo* as technical terms in Millar (1983) 80.

76 *Dig.* 27.1.6.8. Cited, translated, and discussed in Milllar (1983a) 78. See also *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.1; 13.3.16.

77 Eusebius, *De martyribus Palestinae* 11; also in *AAS* 1 June, vol. 1, pp. 62–4; and *Anal. Bolland.* 16 (1897), pp. 129–39. Collinet (1925) 28.

78 *Anal. Bolland.* 16 (1897), p. 133; see also *AAS* 1 June, vol. 1, p. 64. Latin translation in *PG* 20.1500. Collinet (1925) 28.

79 Eusebius, *De martyribus Palestinae* 4.3,5, in *Anal. Bolland.* 16 (1897), pp. 122–7. Collinet (1925) 28–9. Jidejian (1997) 132.

80 Text given in Gilliam (1974) 147–50. See also *SEG* 26, 1456, with references to the literature, and discussion in Millar (1990) 17, note. 43.

81 Jidejian (1997) 137, dates them to the fifth century.

82 *Vita et Res Gestae Sancti Xenophontis, et filiorum eius Joannis et Arcadii. Acta Sanctorum Januarius* III (1863) 338–45.

83 Sozomen, *HE,* in PG 67. 887–9. Collinet (1925) 32, and note 2.

84 Ammianus Marcellinus 19.11.2 praises Anatolius' service under Julian and his compassionate governing of Illyricum.

85 Himerius addresses *Eclogue* 32 to Anatolius who visited Athens about 345 AD, Wright p. 498, note 1, translation of Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 490.

86 It seems quite evident that names by this period were chosen as much to indicate qualities as well as family connection; see Salway (1994) 136–7. Perhaps the choice of the name Anatolius, 'Easterner,' is related to a stereotype reflected in a remark of Herodian: 'he was a Syrian, and Easterners are fairly sharpwitted,' Herodian 3.2.8; Whittaker translation 1:336–7.

87 Wright p. 498, note 2, in his translation of Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 490, finds no explanation for this word.

88 Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 490; Wright translation, pp. 499–501.

89 Correspondence of Anatolius with Libanius indicates a jesting familiarity between intellectual peers; Liebeschuetz (1972) 20.

90 Gallia, Italy, Illyricum, and Oriens. A.H.M.Jones (1964) 373, based on the *Notitia Dignitatum.*

91 Socrates, *HE* 2.46 and 3.16; *ODB,* s.v. 'Apollinaris'. The Apollinarii were at Beirut and were famous for their setting the Gospels to classical meter and for their heretical views.

92 English translation (1904) 165.

93 Sozomen, *HE* 5.18.3–4.

94 Sozomen, *HE* 6.25.4–5.

95 Socrates, *HE* 3.16. B. Baldwin and A. Kazhdan, s.v. 'Apollinaris,' *ODB*.

96 [Domninus] Domnio I (*PLRE* I, p. 266). Teacher of law at Berytus, 356–64. Domnio, Libanius *Ep.* 87, 209, 653, 1131; Domninus, Libanius, *Ep.* 117, 533, 1171, Teacher of law, Libanius, *Ep.* 533 (356), *Ep.* 87, 117 (359–60), *Ep.* 209 (360), *Ep.* 653 (361), *Ep.* 1131, 1171, (364). He taught in Phoenice (i.e., at Berytus), Libanius, *Ep.* 653. The following letters were either addressed to him or mentioned him. The student involved is mentioned in parentheses: *Ep,* 87 (Silvanus), *Ep.* 117, *Ep.* 209, Ep. 533 (Artemon), *Ep.* 653, and Ep. 1171 (Apringius).

97 Scylacius 2, (*PLRE* I). He received Libanius, *Ep.* 1220 and 1431 in 363, *Ep.* 1261 and 1271 in 364, and *Ep.* 1336 in 365.

98 Sebastianus 3, (*PLRE* I), ? law-teacher at Berytus, 388 AD. He was asked to help a student in Libanius, *Ep.* 912 (*c.* 388); the letter is one of a group sent to Berytus.

99 For Antioch especially, with some references to Berytus, see Pack (1935); Liebeschuetz (1972); Seeck (1966); Petit (1955) and (1956); and Norman (2000). See also Scott Bradbury's paper given in 2001 about the social networks reflected in the letters of Libanius.

100 For a glimpse into the classroom of Libanius, see Bonner (1932).

101 Libanius, *Opera,* Foerster ed., *Ep.* 533, vol. 10, pp. 501–2; Collinet (1925) 87.

102 Libanius, *Opera,* Foerster ed., *Ep.* 652, vol. 10, p. 596. Collinet (1925) 88.

103 Libanius, *Opera,* Foerster ed., vol. 11, *Ep.* 1539, p. 558. See also Collinet (1925) 89, and Seeck (1966) 175–6.

104 Collinet (1925) 86; Libanius, *Ep.* 1062 W.

105 Collinet (1925) 87; Libanius, *Ep.* 556 W or 641 (Foerster ed.).

106 Based on Collinet (1925) 87–8. See Libanius *Ep.* 709 W=799 F.

107 Libanius, *Ep.* 1435 W (= add.262 S); Collinet (1925) 88; See Domninus II in Seeck (1966) 124.

108 *PLRE* 1; Collinet (1925) 86–7; Jidejian (1997) 136. When he was already an advocate with experience (Libanius, *Ep.* 1171), he took up the study of law at Berytus. Libanius, *Ep.* 1170, 1171, and 1203 (364 AD).

109 In 360 he married the daughter of Fraternus, Libanius, *Ep.* 150.

110 Decurion of Antioch, where he performed the *choregia* before AD 360, Libanius, *Ep.* 150.

111 Apringius was summoned to Antioch in 355 AD, to start his career, and his father was already an advocate, Libanius, *Ep.* 422.

112 Pupil of Libanius, Libanius, *Ep.* 150.

113 Libanius, *Ep.* 1539 (Foerster ed.), p. 286, vol. 10.

114 Libanius, *Ep.* 1171 (Foerster ed.), p. 258. Quoted and discussed in Jidejian (1997) 136 who gives his name as Aspringius.

115 Theodorus 11 (*PLRE* I), governor (in Asiana) 364–5 AD; Libanius, *Ep.* 339, 831, 1125, 1182, 1188, 1205, 1361, 1480, and 1535.

116 See Barnes (1998) for the interesting suggestion that Ammianus Marcellinus might have encountered lawyers trained in Berytus or Tyre and have come to disdain them, based on such encounters. See also J.F.Matthews (1989b), (1993), and (2000) for further discusssion of the career of Ammianus Marcellinus and studies on the formation of the legal codes.

117 See Collinet (1925) 67–70; *Chronique syriaque* of Pseudo-Zacharias, IV, 9.

118 Collinet (1925) 68, notes 1–2, and 151–2. See J.F.Matthews (2001) on interpreting the laws.

119 See Gregory (1979) 186–91 and Haas (1997) 242–3, 260, 266, 318–20, 392, with notes 68 and 71.

120 Collinet (1925) 67, note 3, cites these sources for the banishment of Timothy Aelurus with his brother Anatolius from Alexandria to Gangra in 460 AD: Evagrius, *HE* book 2, col. 11, in *PG* 86.2533; in Bidez and Parmentier ed., p. 63; Nicephorus Callistus, 15.16, in *PG* CXLVII.52; Pseudo-Zacharias, 4.6, Hamilton and Brooks translation, p. 74; Theophanes (Bonn ed.) p. 112. See also George Cedrenus, *PG* 121.661.

121 Collinet (1925) 68, note 4, which quotes at length the translation of PseudoZacharias, *Chronique syriaque,* translated by Hamilton and Brooks, p. 77. See also the text of Michael the Syrian, translated by J.B.Chabot.

122 Collinet (1925) 69, note 3. See Miller (2000) for the importance of the bishop's palace in medieval Italy.

123 Collinet (1925) 69, note 4, with no documentation of sources.

124 *…en kolonia phtlochristo Beryto…en to neo episkopeio tes en Beryto hagiotates neas ekklesias;* 'in colonia Christi amica Beryto…in novo episcopio Beryti sanctissimae novae ecclesiae.' Collinet (1925) 69, note 3, cites Labbe, *Concilia,* vol. 4, col. 638e (Council de Chalcédoine, *actio* X), and Mansi, vol. 7, col. 211.

125 Cyrillus 2 (*PLRE* II), jurist at Berytus, ?mid fifth century. *Basilica* 11.1.12, 67. He taught at Berytus *(touto pote anegnosthe en Berytoi upo Kyrillou tou heroos);* see also the various articles by McNamee.

126 *Basilica,* Schol. 54 (=Heimbach, *Suppl.* I, p. 211).

127 *Basilica* 29–5.24.7 (Heimbach I, pp. 538, 646; III 474).

128 *Basilica* 11.2.27.

129 Demosthenes 2 (*PLRE* II), jurist, mid-to-late fifth century, One of the five jurists whose opinions were cited by the sixth-century commentators on the *Codex Iustinianus,* Thalelaeus and Theodorus (*PLRE* III); *Basilica* 8.2.79, 84; 12.2.20 (Heimbach I, pp. 403, 405, 692). For the date and the other jurists, see Cyrillus 2.

130 Domninus 5 (*PLRE* II), jurist, mid-to-late fifth century. One of the five jurists whose opinions were cited by the sixth-century commentators on the *Codex*

Iustinianus, Thalelaeus and Theodorus (*PLRE* III); *Basilica* 8.2.79; 48.1.60 (Heimbach I, pp. 403; IV, p. 585). For the date and the other jurists, see Cyrillus 2.

131 Eudoxius 4 professor of law (East) late fifth/early sixth century (*PLRE* II). Father of Leontius 20, grandfather of Anatolius (*PLRE* III); he was a famous lawyer and taught at Berytus: *Cod. Just.* 1.17.2.9, Zach., *V Sev.,* p. 47. Presumably identical with the jurist Eudoxius whose opinions were cited by sixth-century commentators on *Codex Iustinianus; Basilica* 11.2.25, 35; 21.3.4; 22.1.43; 47.1.72 (Heimbach I, pp. 696, 704; II, pp. 454, 489; IV, p. 593). He lived no later than the reign of Anastasius; *Basilica* 11.2.27, and cf. Cyrillus 2.

132 Leontius 20 (*PLRE* II), Professor of law at Berytus, late fifth to early sixth centuries. Son of Eudoxius 4 and father of Anatolius (*PLRE* III); *Cod. Just.* I, 17.2. 9, *V Sev.,* p. 47. He was a famous lawyer; *Cod. Just.* I, 17.2.9. See Trombley (1993) 2:1–51.

133 Patricius 10 (*PLRE* II). *Cod. Just.* I, 17.2.9. *Basilica* VIII 2.79, 84; XI 1.67, 70; 2. 20, 23; XLVII 1.60, etc. (Heimbach, I pp. 403, 405, 646, 649, 692, 695; IV 585). For his date compare Cyrillus 2.

134 Collinet (1925) 135–8, based on Jalabert (1906) 170–1.

135 Text from Jalabert (1906) 171.

136 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.2.5 *(Nicobuli patris ad filium)* verses 226–7*,* in *PG* 37.1538. Quoted with Latin and French translations in Coilinet (1925) 35, note 1. See also *Gregory of Nazianzus: Three Poems,* Meehan translation. Note the reference to Ausonius which may indicate knowledge of Latin literature such as the *Aeneid.* 'Ausonian' was used to refer to southern Italy.

137 Collinet (1925) p. 137.

138 John Lydus, *de mag.* III 17.

139 Leontius 23, (*PLRE* II), *PPO* (Orientis) 510; ex consul.; patricius. Son of Patricius 10 (*Cod. Just.* I, 17.2.9; *Cod. Just.* I, 17.2.9; John Lydus, *de mag.* III 17 *(aner nomikotatos).* Attested in office between 500 and 518, *Cod. Just.* VII 39.6a; *Cod. Just.* VII 39.5.; *Cod. Just.* I, 17.2.9).

140 See especially Brandsma (1996); and *ODB,* s.v. 'Dorotheos' jurist, antecessor, professor of law at Berytus.

141 See Vidén (1984); Brandsma (1996); Osler (1985); Sirks (1986); Claude (1969); Scheltema (1970); Honoré (1973–4) and (1978) 43, 56–7, 67, 147–8, 170, 187, 190–1, 199–200, 257–86.

142 '…et Dorotheum virum illustrem et facundissimum quaestorium, quem in Berytiensium splendissima civitate leges discipulis tradentem propter eius optimam opinionem et gloriam ad nos deduximus participemque huius operis fecimus,' according to *Cod. Just.* I 17.2.9=*Const.* 'Tanta.' The Greek version in *Const. Dedoken* 9 simply translates the Latin text given above and adds no new details.

143 Latin text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) lviii–lix, s.v. The Confirmation of the *Digest.'*

144 *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' 3 (quorum omnium sollertiam et legum scientiam et circa nostras iussiones fidem iam ex multis rerum argumenta accepimus), *Const.* 'Omnem' 2, *CJ* 1,17.2.11=*Const.* 'Tanta', cf. *Inst.* title (Dorotheum virum magnificum quaestorium iuris peritum et antecessorem Berytiensium inclitae civitatis). See O.F. Robinson (1983) for the use of the *Institutes*.

145 Just. *Const.* 'Cordi' (16 Nov. 534; on the completion of the project; virum magnificum quaestorium et Beryti legum doctorem Dorotheum).

146 Dorotheus 4 (*PLRE* IIIA), teacher of law at Berytus 530–4 (-?542). The Index is dated to 542 since it alludes to Just. *Nov.* 115 of that year; see *Basilica,* ed. Heimbach, VI, intro., p. 12 with n. 15, and on his commentary, pp. 36–47. See also Brandsma (1996); and *ODB,* s.v. 'Dorotheos' jurist, antecessor, professor of law at Berytus. See pl. 8 for the gold medallion of Justinian found in Beirut. It is tempting to think one of these lawyers may have received it from the emperor.

147 Anatolius (*PLRE* III). See pl. 8 for the gold medallion of Justinian found in Beirut. It is tempting to think one of these lawyers may have received it from the emperor.

148 '…sed et ANATOLIUM virum illustrem magistrum, qui ipse apud Berytienses iuris interpres constitutus ad hoc opus allectus est, vir ab antiqua stirpe legitima procedens, cum et pater eius Leontius et avus Eudoxius optimam sui memoriam in legibus reliquerunt.' Latin text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) lviii–lix, s.v. The Confirmation of the *Digest*.'

149 Note that Watson does not translate 'in Phoenicia' which has been added to the Greek text. Greek text and English translation in Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson (1985) lviii–lix, s.v. 'The Confirmation of the *Digest.'* See also Honoré (1978) 43, 147, 170, 257–86.

150 See Boyd (1905) for the ecclesiastical edicts of Justinian. Note also the general tone of the Code which calls on God for guidance to lead the citizens into moral behavior.

151 Honoré (1978) 43.

10
ARTISANS, OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITY, AND SOCIAL STATUS

Self-identification by occupation is an intriguing problem because relatively little is known about indiviual workers, such as artisans.[1] However, many artisans lived in each city to meet the needs of the citizens, both at a private and an institutional level.[2] The following ruling about artisans, *De excusationibus artificum,* 'On the exemptions of artisans,' suggests independent workshops run as family enterprises in the fourth century AD. This rescript, dated to the end of the reign of Constantine, refers to artisans who enjoyed a level of autonomy in their occupations and reflects their importance to the government.

> We command that artisans who dwell in each city and who practice the skills included in the appended list shall be free from all compulsory public services, since indeed their leisure should be spent in learning these skills whereby they may desire the more to become more proficient themselves and to instruct their children.
>
> (Appended List)
>
> Architects, makers of paneled ceilings, plasterers, carpenters, physicians, stonecutters, silversmiths, builders, veterinarians, stonemasons, gilders of arms, step-makers, painters, sculptors, engravers, joiners, statuaries, workers in mosaics, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, marble-masons, gilders, founders, dyers in purple, layers of tessellated stones, goldsmiths, mirror-makers, carriage-makers, directors of distribution of the water supply, glassworkers, workers in ivory, fullers, potters, plumbers, furriers.[3]

In this discussion of the artisans of Berytus, the focus will be on those specifically attested for the city by epigraphic evidence: workers who produced silk and linen fabrics, rich purple dyes, metal objects, glass, and mosaics in or near Berytus. This epigraphy-driven approach reveals how the artisans wished to identify themselves in the inscriptions commissioned by themselves, their families, their friends, or their co-workers.[4] Information from literary and legal sources helps flesh out this portrait of the artisans of Berytus.

When looking at the literary evidence, one should remember that references to artisans are scarce in all the ancient sources and, in many instances, were written by members of the literate upper classes who scorned manual labor. The

formulators of the legal codes and the price edict regarded the artisans from an administrative point of view or sometimes with a coercive intent. The writers of historical narrative were frequently concerned with 'great men' or 'great events' rather than with average persons, such as the artisans. The saints' lives and sermons, although written to prove 'moral' points, provide vignettes which flesh out the social role of the artisans in urban life. The inscriptions, mostly funerary, appear to be the one source which mirrors the outlook of the artisans and their families or other associates.[5]

The inscriptions present various aspects of self-identification. Evidence for the three cultural strands—Roman, Greek, and Semitic—can be gleaned from references in the inscriptions of Berytus. There are explicit statements made about religious identity of the inscribers or their families. Although gender is not a major focus, there is information about the role of women as artisans.

Certain occupations are attested only at Berytus. These occupations may reflect the unique situation of the city, they may be the random indications of wider Mediterranean practice, or they may be known from the accident of epigraphical survival. Whatever knowledge can be obtained about the artisans of Berytus will serve to deepen our understanding not only of Berytus but of comparable cities of the Late Antique Greek East. Indeed, the very nature of some occupations may be clarified by a study of epigraphy set against other kinds of evidence. Because the inscriptions from Berytus are few in number, it will be useful to supplement their evidence with information from some relevant inscriptions from nearby Tyre and Heliopolis (Baalbek), with appropriate recognition of the limitation of such evidence.

The inscriptions yield social evidence of various kinds. It is crucial to determine as carefully as possible the meaning of the occupation in which the artisan was engaged. Therefore, a linguistic analysis of the occupational terminology applied to the artisan will be presented when needed. The social status of the artisan is closely linked to his legal status; thus it is important to determine as carefully as possible whether the artisan is 'free' or 'unfree' in a legal sense.[6] It is also instructive to see if the artisan is earning wages in order to determine whether he is independent or perhaps part of a workshop setting, either as an employee (slave or free) or even as an owner. References in the legal codes and the Edict of Diocletian provide some evidence for legal status and economic position. Literary sources help to establish historical or social contexts in which the artisan worked.

Official status may not reflect the view of the artisans in their own eyes or in the view of other members of their community.[7] While literary and legal sources evoke a picture of a graded society with an almost caste-like division between *konestiores* and *humiliores,*[8] other sources (inscriptions, papyri, saints' lives) suggest a matter-of-fact acknowledgment of occupations. Such acceptance, or even pride, may come from a sense of 'moving up' the social ladder from a lower status or a sense of acquiring a meaningful self-definition in a world much obsessed with official identity.[9]

In the inscriptions of the artisans in question, the individuals have chosen to refer to themselves by a personal name and then by occupational term. It may be that the designation by occupation was simply a name like *fullon,* 'fuller,' or *scholasticus,* 'lawyer.'[10] The bishop of Berytus told the Piacenza pilgrim that 30, 000 persons who had died in the earthquake of 551 were known *nominatim,* 'by name.'[11] Such differentiation by names assumes a distinction between persons, that may have been strengthened by a 'second name' sometimes related to occupation.

Much has been written about the epigraphic habit[12] among the Romans or other peoples who came under their social influence, especially up through the third century; but Joshel has focused most effectively on the issue of occupation as a source of social status.[13] Of course, burial societies, guilds, and families frequently made the final arrangements for the wording and inscribing of epitaphs.[14] But what these epitaphs commemorated were accomplishments and roles valuable in the eyes of the cultural community. Frequently it is argued that many such inscriptions in the earlier period were erected as a mark of improved social status by freedmen who wanted to demonstrate material achievement. Yet in the inscriptions from Tyre of the fifth and sixth centuries studied by Rey-Coquais[15] and in some inscriptions from Berytus as well, the emphasis on occupation persists. The social significance encoded in the inscriptional documentation of occupation by the artisans of Late Antique Berytus and other *civitates* of the Greek East will be of use in the general appreciation of the social structure of those cities.

In the sections which follow, I will set forth the inscription for each artisan and expand with evidence from literary accounts of various kinds, the legal rulings, the price edict. By a full exploration of the occupations attested for Berytus I hope also to improve our understanding of artisan self-identification for other areas. The inscriptions are not all from the Late Antique period. Even if the situation for the artisans may have changed through the centuries in some respects, a collation of the evidence should reveal some sense of the image of the artisans, or producers of goods, in their own eyes or in the eyes of their fellow citizens.

Silk workers

The first group of inscriptions relate to artisans involved in textile production in and near Berytus.[16] As mentioned above,[17] Procopius in the twenty-fifth book of the *Secret History* or *Anecdota* referred to the production of silk garments in Berytus, probably from thread or raw silk imported from China.[18]

> Garments made of silk had been wont from ancient times to be produced in the cities of Beirut and Tyre in Phoenicia. And the merchants and craftsmen and artisans of these stuffs had lived there from ancient times, and this merchandise was carried thence to the whole world.[19]

The inscriptions which follow clarify some aspects of self-identification by such artisans—in particular, the ethnic identification and legal status of some of the craftsmen and artisans involved in textile production.[20]

Waddington copied and interpreted this Late Antique inscription for Samuel, a *serikarios,* from Berytus: 'Tomb belonging to Samuel, son of Samuel, the silk worker. Kandedos, his son, and Deborah….' [21] The name Samuel and the menorah on the inscription identify this *serikarios* as a member of the Jewish community. The name *Kandedos* is likely to be the Hellenized form of the Latin *Candidus*. Thus in one inscription the three cultural strands are interwoven. The exact nature of the work of a *serikarios* in Late Antique Syria has been much discussed. It has been suggested that the term refers to a silk merchant only[22] or may be a general term for 'worker in silk.'[23] If the *serikarios* is a merchant, his social and economic status would exceed that of a worker, as Pleket has demonstrated.[24] Yet the language of *Edict. Diocl.* 20 which refers to the wages for a *sericarius* or *serikarios, seirikarios*[25] supports the interpretation of a worker who received wages, whereas a merchant would receive income from his sales. Indeed, in one part of this section the artisan to be paid is characterized as 'the working *serikarios*.'[26] The complexity of skills such a worker might have mastered is suggested from the fragments of Late Antique Syrian silk which have survived.[27]

Inscriptions from other parts of the Mediterranean suggest the addition of a term like *negotians*[28] and *negotiator*[29] when the term sericarius refers to a merchant. *Siricaria* appears in *CIL* VI 9892 from Italy, indicating that women shared this occupation with men.[30] In a sixth-century Latin papyrus the term for 'silk merchant' is *holosericoprata*.[31] The testimony of the inscriptions and writers such as Salvian, Jerome, and Gregory of Tours suggests that Syrian merchants in Italy sold garments woven in Berytus and Tyre.[32]

Furthermore, references from the tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* also reveal a separate term for a 'seller' of silk garments. Although there has been much discussion about the terminology for the five guilds related to the silk production, the most reasonable definitions appear to be *serikarioi* as 'silk workers,' *metaxopratai* as 'raw silk merchants,' *vestiopratai* as 'merchants of silk garments,' *katartarioi* as 'raw silk dressers (cleaners),'and *othoniopratai* as linen merchants.'[33] The lack of the suffix *-pratai,* 'sellers,' and the presence of the suffix *-arius,* 'one who does something,' suggests that *serikarioi* are workers who are involved in the production of silk and/or silk garments rather than selling, even in this later document.[34]

Our understanding of the terms for silk and of the use of silk in the ornamentation of ecclesiastical structures can be enhanced from the description by the pilgrim Egeria of fourth-century churches in the Holy Land:

> Just after seven in the morning, when the people have rested, they all assemble in the Great Church on Golgotha. And on this day in this church, and at the Anastasis and the Cross and Bethlehem, the decorations really

> are too marvellous for words. All you can see is gold and jewels and silk *[sirico];* the hangings are entirely silk *[oleserica]* with gold stripes, the curtains the same, and everything they use for services at the festival is made of gold and jewels. You simply cannot imagine the number, and the sheer weight of the candles and the tapers and lamps and everything else they use for the services.
>
> They are beyond description, and so is the magnificent building itself. It was built by Constantine, and under the supervision of his mother it was honoured with as much gold, mosaic, and precious marble as his empire could provide, and this not only at the Great Church, but at the Anastasis and the Cross, and the other holy places of Jerusalem as well.[35]

If we examine the terminology that Egeria used above, we can gain additional understanding of the base *serica-/sirica-*and thus understand the term for the artisan better. The terms *siric-*refers to silk in general and *olesiric-* means 'whole silk.' Additional evidence for the terms *-siric-* and *[h]olesiric-* comes from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* in the description of Elagabalus who was 'the first of the Romans, it is said, who wore clothing wholly of silk *(holoserica),* although garments partly of silk *(subsericae)* were in use before his time.'[36]

Perhaps the most important evidence for the meaning of *serikarios* comes from the narrative of Antoninus Placentinus, known as the 'Antonine pilgrim' or the 'Piacenza pilgrim,' who passed along the Phoenician coast in 570 AD.

> …From Berytus we came to Sidon… From Sidon we came to Sarepta… Departing from Sarepta we came into the city at Tyre… At Tyre [there are] powerful people, [living] a very bad life of such great luxury that it can not be described: there are public silk weaving-factories or [places] with various types of looms. And from there we came to Ptolemais.[37]

The European visitor to Tyre was struck by the *genicia publica olosirica,* 'the public silk weaving factories.' Because this passage was previously mistranslated as 'public brothels draped in silk,'[38] the point that silk weaving was being carried on in public factories in Phoenicia in the late sixth century has been frequently overlooked.[39] In addition, the reference to 'places with various types of looms' seems to suggest that private workshops were also producing silk cloth or garments. Samuel the *sericarius* of the inscription was possibly a 'silk weaver' employed in a 'public silk factory' or in a workshop using some sort of private loom.[40]

If Samuel the *sericarius* were employed in a public weaving factory, an examination of the many references to *gynaecia,* 'weaving factories,' in the *Theodosian Code* might clarify his legal status.[41] The codes suggest that the workers in the imperial weaving factories were of a servile condition or in some manner unfree. To understand the position of workers in the *gynaecia,* it is useful to turn to another group of textile workers attested in Berytus.

Linen workers

A passage from the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* indicates that textile workers of Berytus and the neighboring towns were well-known for their linen production:

> The following [cities] are in the trade {or production} of linen cloth: Scythopolis, Laodiceia *[ad mare],* Byblos, Tyrus, and Berytus. These [cities] export linen cloth to all the world and are outstanding in every kind of wealth. Likewise moreover Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, and also Lydda, [export] genuine purple.[42]

Linen was used both for garments and sails; it was also mixed with silk to produce a less valuable fabric than silk, as reflected in the relative prices given in *Edict. Diocl*.[43] Linen fabric appears to have been produced in three settings: state factories, private workshops, and in private homes. The terms in the *Theodosian Code* suggest that *gynaecia* refers to 'weaving factories' in general and that *linyphia* refers to 'factories' producing linen fabric and/or garments in particular. The government requisitioned garments both for the needs of the army[44] and for the imperial household.

The various laws in the *Theodosian Code* indicate that at least some of the weavers in the imperial weaving establishments were enslaved *[mancipium gynaeci]*. If they fled, they were not to be sheltered on pain of a fine of five pounds of gold, to be paid by the one who harbored such a slave.[45]

The emperor found it necessary to legislate against the solicitation of public linen weavers who were producing supplies for the central government. In this case, the fine to be paid was three pounds of gold by the would-be employer and three pounds of gold by the individual weaver.[46] Such a ruling implies that private workshops co-existed with state factories. The stringency of the penalty (which could even become proscription in case the solicitation continued) suggests that these weavers were in high demand.

Such a state-controlled weaving establishment at Tyre is attested by a reference in Ammianus Marcellinus to a letter sent to the 'foreman of the weaving plant at Tyre,' *ad Tyrii textrini praepositum*.[47] Although the author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* mentions Berytus and other cities along with Tyre as linen producers, it is unclear whether the linen production at Berytus took place in state factories or in private workshops. A private workshop setting can be envisioned from documentary evidence from another part of the East which suggests spatial requirements. Three looms could be set up in two-thirds of the space of the house, according to a lease from Heracleopolis in Egypt, which has been dated 246 AD.[48] Such an arrangement could accommodate an operation requiring the assistance of family members, apprentices, hired workers or slaves.[49]

Weavers

It is quite likely that 'weavers,' *gynaeciarii,*[50] worked on a variety of fabrics. In some of the codes, the references seem to reflect a separation of occupation between linen weavers and silk weavers, as there are separate terms for 'weavers' and linen weavers;' in other rulings, the references seem generic for any type of weaver. Whereas some laws seem to imply servile status or 'unfree' status of some sort for weavers, other laws seem to reflect the possibility of leaving the *familia* or *corpus* (guild?) of weavers. Eusebius of Caesarea *Vita Constantini* 2.34.1 regards workers in *gynaikeia*[51] and linen workshops as slaves of the treasury. Sozomen, *HE* 1.8.3, classes *gynaikeiai*[52] among places like mines and linen workshops to which persons are sent to perform forced labor.

According to a ruling dated to 426 AD, weavers, linen weavers, linen workers, and dyers who were involved with imperial factories belonged to hereditary guilds. Workers in textile production were grouped with minters as laborers of low status who were required to find satisfactory replacements before they could leave their guilds.[53]

Servile status for weavers is strongly suggested by the following ruling which reduced the status of a freeborn wife to the lower status of a husband who is a weaver.

> If freeborn women should unite themselves to imperial weavers *[gynaeceariis]* and should be notified by formal announcement but should be unwilling to prefer the splendor of their ancestry to the baseness of such concubinage [editor's note: *contubernia,* 'slave union'], they shall be held to the ignoble status of their husbands.[54]

That women worked as weavers in some weaving establishments, perhaps those annexed to a palace, is made clear by the following ruling. The particular circumstances which are addressed are difficult to interpret, but clearly the government felt free to circumscribe the circumstances of these women's lives.

> In so far as pertains to the women who were formerly employed in Our imperial weaving establishment *[in gynaeceo nostro]* and who have been led by the Jews into the association of their turpitude, it is Our pleasure that they shall be restored to the weaving establishment. It shall be observed that Jews shall not hereafter unite Christian women to their villainy; if they should do so, however, they shall be subject to the peril of capital punishment.[55]

A negative reference in John Chrysostom to the occupation of weaver *(gynaeciarius)* suggests that employment as weaver may have been viewed as inappropriate for a man due to the origin of the term itself or from the tradition that women were weavers.

> For (God) neither entrusted everything to the husband, nor all to the wife; but also dividing these things to each; on the one hand entrusting to her the house, on the other hand entrusting to him the market; and to him the task of support, for he tills the ground; and to her that of clothing, for loom and distaff are the wife's, for He Himself gave to the woman skill in woven work. But beware the covetousness, which does not remit this apparent difference! For the foolishness of the many has introduced our men to the looms, and put shuttles in their hands, and the woof, and threads.[56]

Such comments sanction the role of the woman as weaver in the home setting and perhaps even as a producer of fabric or garments for outside sale.[57] Apparently, however, the employment of men as weavers was looked down upon by other men who drew their income from agriculture, the traditional source of wealth.[58] This suggests that men of the weaving occupation may have endured a social stigma coming from concepts of appropriate class and gender roles in Greco-Roman social structures that may not have been inherent in the indigenous lower classes of Semitic background.[59] Weaving as an occupation suitable only for women may have been an idea stronger among the Greek-speaking members of the community than among the speakers of Semitic languages who may have constituted the majority of workers in the clothing factories. Although the occupation of 'weaver' was potentially servile, the wages might have been substantial enough to be regarded as a 'temptation,' according to John Chrysostom.

From this lengthy examination of the inscription for Samuel the *sericarius* and related legal and literary evidence, the following observations may be made. It is likely that he was a silk-weaver rather than a silk merchant. It is probable that he worked in an independent workshop (and may have been the owner) rather than in a state factory. Although his tomb was marked as that of a Jew, the other names in the inscription suggest some assimilation to the Greco-Roman culture in Berytus. The fact that his tomb was not defaced suggests the peaceful co-existence of Jews, Christians, and pagans in the city. The evidence for Jewish weavers that Heichelheim collected may imply that this occupation was dominated by Jewish weavers, especially since Chrysostom has clearly attached some social stigma to the occupation for his Hellenized Christian listeners.

Producers of purple: sellers, dyers, and 'fishers'

The production of purple dye, in all the stages from shell collection and dyeproduction, dominated the economy of Tyre, a close neighbor of Berytus. Over 20 per cent of the inscriptions from the necropolis of Tyre commemorate persons involved in the production of purple.[60] Although the industry of dyeing was clearly centered at the home of 'Tyrian purple,' the occurrence of two inscriptions from the area of Berytus raises the possibility that some sellers or dyers of purple were also located in the latter city as well.

Near Berytus, in the sanctuary area at Deir el Qalaa overlooking the city, a *purpurarius* is attested in an area filled with dedications to Juno. This particular inscription reflects Romanization in linguistic and religious practice in the colony of Berytus. It is very similar in many respects to inscriptions found in Rome in the early empire which also commemorate this occupation. The personal name appears to have been broken off; it seems unlikely that *Purpurarius* is the name because in similar inscriptions, an individual name was given. 'A dyer or seller of purple *(purpurarius)* for his safety and [for the safety] of his [children], willing in spirit, pays this vow.'[61]

The term *purpurarius* has Greek parallels in the inscriptions from the necropolis of Tyre to the artisans of the 'purple occupations,' such as *porphyras, porphyreus, porphyreutes,*[62] artisans who produce 'true purple.' However, the very term *purpurarius* is ambiguous, suggesting either 'a dyer or seller of purple.'[63] It is of interest to consider whether the particular artisan was a seller of dyes, a dyer, or a murex-fisher because of the varying social and economic status of the occupations. From the evidence of the legal codes the murex-fishers appear to have been the more severely controlled group and of a lower status than the dyers who in turn seem to have been of lower status socially and economically than the sellers. Or, to speak in terms of a social pyramid, the sellers were on top,[64] the dyers were in some intermediate situation, and the 'fishers of purple dye-fish' were on the bottom. However, as I will show in the discussion to follow, it is not at all impossible that the stench of dyeing could 'smell like money' and perhaps there was a measure of social acceptance for some members of the *collegia* of the *conguleguli*.

Pliny describes the color of the preferred and more valuable shade of purple as 'congealed blood, blackish at first glance but gleaming when held up to the light.'[65] In *Edict. Diocl.* 19.8 (and other sections) *purpura* and *porphyras*[66] (and their variants) are synonymous. Since twelve kinds of purple textile, ranging in price from 10,000 denarii for red wool to 150,000 denarii for purple silk[67] are mentioned, there was clearly a demand for these expensive textiles.

Joshel, in her recent study on the occupational inscriptions from Rome of the first and second centuries AD, noted that five *purpurarii* (which she translates as dyers) were connected in the inscriptions to shop addresses which indicates private ownership.[68] 'Dyeing…required an extensive plant and an individual dyer would have been inhibited from working on his or her own.'[69] As an indication of the amount of profit that could be realized from owning a shop shared with other workers, the inscription erected by Veturia D[ecimi] l[iberta] Fedra (Fedra, the freedwoman of Decimus Veturius) provides important evidence. As a *purpuraria Mariensis* (a dyer working in the area near the Marian monuments), Fedra recorded that from her own funds she paid for a tomb for herself, her patron, and her *collibertus* with whom she lived for twenty years.[70]

It may well be that the use of a general term such as *purpurarius* and *porphyreus, porphyeutes*[71] refers to a person who both dyed and sold the dyed products. For example, the general term *porphyreutai*[72] appears in Clement of

Alexandria's note on the fame of the purple of Tyre and Sidon.[73] However, there are separate Greek terms for 'purple-dyer' and 'purple-seller' which, again, may or may not refer to separate functions. The term *porphyrabaphos,* 'purple dyer,' is attested in Helllenistic and imperial references[74] as is the *term porphyropoles,* 'purple seller.'[75]

In John Chrysostom's commentary on the book of Acts, he described Lydia, the *porphyropoles,* 'seller of purple' from Thyatira.[76] The same preacher who could viciously attack an empress[77] said of Lydia that she was 'a woman of low condition, from her trade too; but mark in her a woman of elevated mind.'[78] Chrysostom's high praise for Lydia who earned enough income as an artisan to practice benefaction to the apostle Paul and his company may have been inspired by his own acceptance of similar help from Olympias.[79] Nevertheless, the attribution of noble-mindedness to a woman who was an independent[80] artisan appears to reflect a new attitude among such Late Antique religious leaders. Additional religious approval may have been conferred on the production and selling of purple from the traditional explication of the passage in Proverbs 31 which praises a woman for clothing her family in purple.[81]

Purple dyers

Dyers who were restricted to working in the imperial factories do not appear to have enjoyed as high a status as private dyers and sellers who operated from private workshops. It is possible to trace the gradual restriction of purple dyeing to government-controlled facilities with occasional attempts by the dyers to sell privately and surreptitiously. Although Eusebius considered it a mark of favor from the Emperor when Dorotheus, a Christian of his acquaintance, was put in charge of the purple dye works at Tyre,[82] seeking such an appointment by improper influence was forbidden and was punishable by disenfranchisement and execution by the sword. The edict appears to deal with the problem of ineptitude as well, since there is grumbling about a polluted dye which caused stains.[83]

From such close regulation, it may be observed that the government sought to restrict purple dyeing to state-controlled dye works in the reign of Constantine. It also appears that workers in the *bafia,* 'dyeworks,' were closely supervised and that their status was in some way 'unfree.' It should be noted that they were under the supervision of a 'procurator' as were the workers in the *gynaecea,* 'the weaving factories.' These officials are attested as well in the *Notitia Dignitatum* Oriens XIII. 16–20: *Procuratores gynaeceorum, Procuratores bafiorum, Procuratores monetarum, Procuratores bastagarum, Procuratores linyfiorum,* 'procurators of the weaving factories, procurators of the dyeworks, procurators of the mints, procurators of the burdenbearers(?), procurators of the linen workshops.'[84]

Evidence that purple-dyed garments could still be produced privately, even in the fifth century AD (424 AD), comes from another ruling in which the government was trying to restrict production to state-controlled facilities.

> All persons, of whatsoever sex, rank, skill, profession, or family, shall abstain from the possession of that kind of material which is dedicated only to the Emperor and to His household. Nor shall any person at his home weave or make silk cloaks or tunics which have been colored with purple dye and woven with no admixture of anything else. Men shall bring forth from their homes and deliver the tunics and cloaks that are dyed in all parts of their texture with the blood of the purple shellfish. No threads dyed with purple dye shall be interwoven, nor shall threads colored by the same dye be spun out and made strong by the shrill sounding loom. Garments of all-purple must be surrendered to the treasury and must be immediately offered.[85]

A decade later, Theodosius and Valentinian re-affirmed the interest of the government in controlling the dye works in Phoenicia which must certainly be those in Tyre. The problem and the solution are clearly stated:

> Since it has been disclosed that almost three hundred pounds of purple dyed silk have been colored in clandestine dyeing operations…and that no small weight of purple dye has been converted into money, and since witnesses under torture have revealed by what artifices privately owned silk and silk belonging to the fisc were customarily dyed alike with the purple dye belonging to the State, and since they have also revealed what persons were accomplices in this crime, and who were the assistants, and although traffic in purple dye has been prohibited by innumerable constitutions, We also forbid it by a new threat… We command that every seventh man from the bureau of secretaries and every sixth man from the bureau of regular taxes and every fifth man from the bureau of registrars shall be sent to the dye works of Phoenicia for a fixed period of time, so that by the astuteness of these officials all fraud may be prevented, since they shall fear the forfeiture of their credit for terms of service which they have acquired with much toil. Furthermore, a fine of twenty pounds of gold is proposed.[86]

In the ruling above, it is clear that dye was being privately (surreptitiously) sold as late as 436 AD. It would seem that as the restriction of *purpura* increased and government control increased, that the status of dyer declined. It is notable that most references to *purpurarius* which indicate higher status seem to come from the early empire;[87] the derogatory references to dyers in the codes seem to come from the fourth century or later.

As restrictions tightened on the production of the 'true purple,' which had the role of validating imperial prestige, dyers developed other shades which could be sold to the general public who coveted the cachet of 'purple' in some gradation. A recent study found evidence of shades which 'ranged from pale pink to black-purple'[88] or *de violet sombre au rose lumineux*.[89] The following Greek

inscription from Berytus dated to the fifth to sixth centuries AD honors either a dyer or a fisher of a specific color of purple which had a golden cast: The tomb for the dyer or fisher of golden-purple, Helladius.'[90]

The term *kni[k]iakonkyleut[e]s* appears to be a compound of *knikion,* 'safflower-yellow,' and *konchyleus,* 'fisher of purple dye fish.'[91] Because the status of dyer was seemingly higher than that of a murex-fisher, it is important to clarify the nature of the work this artisan performed.[92] Many of the laws about murex-fishers refer to *conguleguli,* and it seems that the *konk-[cong-]* root must always have meant 'murex.' However, from a passage in Pliny which refers to the fashion for varied colors of purple and the methods for producing a range of dyes, we can see that the *konk-[congh-]* root also can refer to dyeing.

> In a purple-dyed *(conghyliata)* dress the rest of the process is the same except that trumpet-shell dye is not used, and in addition the juice is diluted with water and with human urine in equal quantities; and only half the amount of dye is used. This produces that much admired paleness, avoiding deep colouration… But every end leads to fresh starts, and men make a sport of spending, and like doubling their sports by combining them and re-adulterating nature's adulterations, for instance staining tortoise shells, alloying gold with silver to produce amber-metal ware, and adding copper to these to make Corinthian ware. It is not enough to have stolen for a dye the name of a gem, 'sober-stone,' but when finished it is made drunk again with Tyrian dye, so as to produce from the combination an outlandish name and a two fold luxury at one time; and when they have made shell-dye, they think it an improvement for it to pass into Tyrian…so that one colour might be concealed by another, being pronounced to be made sweeter and softer by this process.[93]

Although the process being described may not refer specifically to the 'golden-purple' tint the artisan from Berytus worked to produce, certainly the methods for obtaining blended colors are well-explained. It would seem that this over-dyeing of colors would be the task of the dyer rather than the fisher so it is likely that the *kni[k]iakonkyleut[e]s* was a dyer. Although Mouterde suggested that the inscription referred to a dyer, Rey-Coquais, in a recent comment on this inscription, has suggested that the term may refer to a fisher of a specific type of murex.[94] Rey-Coquais may be building on his previous study of the inscriptions from the necropolis of Tyre in which he lists the following terms for various workers involved in the purple dye industry: *konchyleis* and *konchyleutai,* for the fishers of the murex, *konchylokopoi* for the extracters of the purple dye, and *konchyloplytai, aletheinobaphos* for those workers who dipped the fabric into the purple dye.[95] The difficulty in distinguishing terms for 'dyers' from 'fishers of purple dye fish' compounds the difficulty in determing the exact occupation of the *kni[k]iakonkyleut[e]s*.

Some conclusions about purple dyers may be offered based on the evidence set forth above. First, it seems that purple-dye production was originally a free trade. In other words, as long as senators and others were allowed to wear purple, the only limit to consumption by the public was cost. Thus the *purpurarius* of the Roman period could produce and/or sell without restriction. Second, by the Late Antique period, the sale of true purple was severely restricted, and new dyes were developed to satisfy the demand for near purple. It would seem that the producer of golden-purple named in the Late Antique inscription either coined the term as a way to increase his status or as a way to describe a dye he considered unique. This artisan may well have worked outside the state factories as an independent producer of a non-regulated color which nevertheless was appealing to purchasers.

In the case of Helladius there is the question of who arranged for his funerary inscription. If he belonged to a guild of some sort, that would suggest that the artisans were joined in a collegial arrangement which might act to bury the dead and take other kinds of collective actions. If, however, the inscription and burial place were arranged by himself or his family, such a cost outlay would substantiate the evidence that artisans could make a living with a surplus which permitted discretionary spending.

Another observation relates to the lack of any identifiable religious symbol or term. Although there is a danger in speaking *ex silentio,* it is likely that this artisan was a pagan, since either the word *piston,* 'believer,' or a Christian symbol was often used to mark Late Antique Christian burials. [96]

'Collectors of purple dye fish'

The workers associated with the dyeing industry, either fishing or dyeing, are usually seen as a repressed class. Passages from the *Theodosian Code* are cited to demonstrate ignoble status in compulsory occupations for collectors of 'purple dye fish' [murex], In a ruling from 424 AD the purple dye fish collectors *[murilegi]* were warned to forsake any marks of high office such as 'insignia' and 'cinctures' and to return to their original low status.[97] The usual emphasis is laid on the forcing of the person back to his 'ignoble status' without noticing that there is an implication that the 'purple dye fish collector' had apparently become prosperous enough to purchase the outward emblems of wealth and status so appreciated in this period.

In yet another ruling, a man who married into the *familia* of the *conchylegulorum* would suffer a reduction in social status.[98] Although the reduction of the status of the husband to that of his wife is usually the focus of discussion, it may be that the key issue is that the wife's attractiveness came from financial wealth rather than social status.[99] The husband may have found that the association with the wife's guild provided some advantage which we are not able to discover at this distance historically, such as improved security of income or a

dowry, increased availability of boats for fishing, or enhanced protection in the law courts.

An edict, issued at Berytus in 372 AD, deals with the taxable status of the 'collectors of purple dye fish,' *conchylioleguli,* and other merchants. They are to be compelled to pay the gold tax which is levied on tradesmen.[100] The regulation names only the *conchyleguli* as a specific group of a 'guild of merchants' who were liable to this tax. By comparison with the tax regulations for the dyers and weavers in state factories, these workers were held responsible for payment of taxes. From other regulations, it would seem that the 'collectors of purple dye fish' were government-controlled workers who would not be able to meet such a tax liablitiy. Yet here they are specifically obliged to meet the tax. Such differentiation in tax liability suggests different levels of income among these workers (or merely reveals the inconsistency of the laws).

The imposition of the tax presumes that there were some fishermen who were able to pay it. The fact that the edict was issued at Berytus may indicate a special connection to the merchants there and at nearby Tyre. A tax exemption, formal or informal, in an unstated place was being withdrawn. The re-imposition of the tax suggests either loss of influence with an emperor or increased financial needs of the imperial government or a balancing of tax burden among different groups.[101]

A law which imposed a large fine for usurpation of the small boats designated for collecting murex and purple-dye producing conchs[102] verifies the interest of the imperial government in ensuring the means for the continuation of the operation. Vast quantities of shells were needed to produce a small amount of dye (12,000 shells for the decoration of one garment),[103] and government supervision may have been necessary to maintain the ongoing operation.

Among any group of fishermen in any period of history, some own boats and fleets and employ other fishermen[104] while others own only their clothes and work for others. Perhaps some of the fishermen were forced to do the most unpleasant parts of the 'fishing' process. Undoubtedly, the physically unpleasant aspects of extracting the dye were repellant to some workers. Reese has reconstructed the process, based on ancient sources and scientific analysis.

> Generally, the carnivorous gastropods were caught by means of wicker baskets baited with marine bivalves, offal, animal flesh, frogs, etc… The flesh bearing the dye-gland was removed, either by hand, by piercing the shell, or by crushing the shell…Salt… was added…and the sun and air [were] allowed to act for three days. This photochemical action would emit a strong odour, something like rotting garlic. The liquid [thus produced] was at first colourless or milky-white, but with exposure to the sun turned bright-yellow, pale greeen, various tints of blue, red and then a purple-red. The mass was removed and placed in stone, tin or lead vats and gently heated for ten days, with the scum continually removed and 5–6 times its bulk of water added. This heating process would produce the terrific stench

> noted by Strabo (XVI.2.23) at Tyre… Various dye colours were possible, determined by the species and quantities used, amount of sunlight and air, weave and type of textile, and type of mordant employed (nitre, urine, salt, seaweed, etc.).[105]

In conclusion, it seems that persons asssociated with the selling of 'purple' (*purpurarius* and *porphyreus, porphyeutes*) were held in somewhat higher general regard than those associated with the task of collecting the murex (*conchylioleguli* or *konchyleis, konchyleutai,* the fishers of the murex). It appears that in the first two centuries AD the dyers and sellers might work from privately owned businesses in some cases. By the later period (the time of Constantine and after) the true purple dyers seem to have been under imperial supervision. The 'fishers of purple dye fish' seem to have operated (under supervision) in a guild or asssociation which may have sold its products to the dyeing factories or which may have been directly under the control of the dyeworks.

It is likely that these artisans, commemorated by a name which includes a designation by occupation, were so known to themselves and their fellow citizens. From the evidence of Jerome,[106] Procopius,[107] and the legal codes,[108] it seems clear that merchants who sold purple in the fourth through the sixth centuries AD enjoyed a level of prosperity and sought to attain increased social status. As Ramsay MacMullen demonstrated in a study of social mobility and references in the *Theodosian Code,* social movement seems quite well attested in this period despite the severe expressions of punitive reduction of status found in some regulations.[109] The guilds, or *collegia,* appear to have offered not only a feeling of solidarity with the group but also enhanced the status of individual members.[110]

'Beautiful writer': scribe, artist, or embroiderer?

The following inscription may provide unique evidence not only for an artisanal occupation but also for the public role of women in Late Antiquity. An inscription carved onto a lintel in a *tabula ansata* to Metaxia the *kalligraphissa* has stimulated many suggestions about the meaning of the term applied to the woman who was commemorated in the fifth or sixth century AD. This artifact was brought from an archeological site in the city in 1924 to the Beirut National Museum where it remains.[111]

> The tomb of Metaxia *kalligraphissa*.[112]

A photograph reveals a third broken line of text and crosses in the *ansae* of the *tabula ansata*.[113] The name Metaxia, 'silken,' itself is derived from the term for the raw, undyed silk *(metaxa)* and may have been chosen to suggest qualities of beauty and prestige.[114] Perhaps because Metaxia was a woman and carried a name seemingly related to the silk industry in Berytus, it has been presumed by many

observers that she worked as an embroiderer[115] of silk fabrics or as an artist of some sort.[116]

However, *kalligraphissa* seems simply to be the feminine form[117] of the standard word for 'scribe'[118] or 'one who writes beautifully.'[119] *Edict. Diocl.* 7. 39 equates *kalligraphos* with *scriptor*.[120] *Technites kalligraphos,* an 'artisan skilled in beautiful writing,' is known from Constantine's letter to Eusebius requesting that fifty Bibles be copied for the churches.[121] Writing materials were widely available in Syria at this time;[122] the demand for scribes was high, as seen in the many references to written records in secular and religious historians and the legal codes.[123]

For the early empire Treggiari has found epigraphic evidence for women employed as scribes in the occupational inscriptions of *CIL* VI. Treggiari notes: 'Women occur only in the lower clerical levels [of large households], as *librariae* and *a manu* or *amanuenses* (clerks and secretaries).' In the early imperial inscriptions which she studied, such scribes worked only for other women.[124] It may be that Metaxia worked as a scribe to write legal documents, particularly for women. In a city known not only for the education of lawyers but also a site for issuing imperial edicts, the services of such a scribe would be required.[125] Kim Haines-Eitzen has collected numerous references which substantiate that women frequently were trained as scribes or calligraphers in the Roman and Late Antique periods.[126]

Evidence for literacy among women in the period of Late Antiquity comes from hagiographic sources.[127] St Catherine of Alexandria was praised for her knowledge of Greek and of Virgil.[128] St Matrona of both Constantinople and Berytus had been educated by her family in Pamphylia.[129] She read the Bible for guidance in crucial decisions;[130] her learning was widely praised.[131] These 'saints' are examples of literate women who were educated beyond mere reading and writing. In fact, it has been recently suggested that the *Vita Matronae* was written by a woman, one of the nuns in the monastery established by Matrona first in Berytus and then relocated to Constantinople.[132]

That a woman might be gainfully employed as a scribe may be paralleled by the example of the woman artist who supported herself by producing drawings and training other women in her occupation. The story of this selfsufficient widow, recorded by John of Ephesus,[133] indicates that in some situations in the Late Antique East, a woman might obtain income from her skill or training.

Artists and mosaicists

Numerous mosaics, some of which were signed, have been found in Berytus and in adjacent suburbs, villages, and cities.[134] Both villas and churches have revealed mosaics with designs in common with those in cities along the Mediterranean coast.[135] The motifs and signatures in these mosaics may tell us something about the working conditions of the artisans themselves. Interest has been focused on whether these artisans worked out of workshops located in

central locations or whether they were itinerant over wider distances.[136] Other questions revolve around the social and economic status of the mosaicists and their assistants and around their methods of producing the mosaics.

The setting of wages in the Edict of Diocletian[137] for workers associated with the design and installation of mosaics confirms the impression of artisans who accepted commissions at negotiated prices. Wages of 60 *denarii* a day for a *musaearius* or *[mous]iarios*[138] and 50 denarii a day for a *tessellarius* or *[psepho] thetes*[139] are lower than those of 75 *denarii* a day for a painter of murals[140] or 150 for a painter of images.[141] Yet they are much greater than the 25 *denarii* set for a muledriver[142] or 20 for the shepherd.[143]

An inscribed mosaic has been found in a Late Antique villa in Awza'i, a suburb to the southwest of Beirut. The mosaic itself portrays 'summer' and the months in a representation[144] not unlike those seen in the mosaics from Antioch[145] or Olympia.[146] Based on the coins found in the excavation, a date of the sixth century AD has been assigned to the villa and the mosaics.[147] The lettering in the frame for 'April' has been recently re-interpreted as a joint signature of a mosaicist and an artist.

> 'Lathra…a painter and Euty[ches?] a pebble-placer [=mosaicist]'[148]

Perhaps these artisans co-operated in designing and executing the design. It seems likely that the painter outlined the design for the mosaicist, either by free-hand drawing or from a pattern book.[149] The Edict of Diocletian suggests that artists generally earned twice as much as mosaicists; this particular inscription could be interpreted to suggest either that the artist was serving the needs of the mosaicist or that the mosaicist completed the designs of the artist. The fact that the artist's name is given first may hint that he received more honor and greater pay than the mosaicist.

Not only private homes but also churches gave employment to makers of mosaics and painters of murals. Severus was instructed in Christian theology by his friend Zacharias who showed him the representation of Adam and Eve at the Church of the Theotokos in Berytus.[150] Whether the figures were portrayed in paintings similar to those at Dura-Europos or in mosaics like those of the churches at nearby Beit Mery,[151] Ghiné,[152] or at Khan Khaldé[153] is not clear from Zacharias's account.

Details of the working habits and conditions of a mosaicist can be gleaned from the *Life of St Eutychius.* The mosaic artisan, designated as both *mousotes* and *psephiotes,*[154] is elsewhere described as *ten tou mousarou technen epistamenos*.[155] The young man was commissioned to remove a mosaic of the 'obscene Aphrodite' as part of the conversion of the upper floor of the home of Chrysaphios in the city of Amaseia to an oratory in honor of the archangel Michael. The lower floor had already been converted to an oratory for the Theotokos. The mosaicist's hand was so badly injured in the process of removing the pagan mosaic that he was advised by physicians to have his hand amputated.

After he was healed by St Eutychius who prayed for him and rubbed holy oil on his hand for three days, he was able to complete his work and also made a portrait of St Eutychius in the house.

In this account, the pagan mosaic was destroyed and replaced by a mosaic with a Christian theme.[156] It seems also that one artisan was able to handle this work by himself. Whether this mosaicist was well paid or not may not be able to be determined. However, he was admired for his skill and considered worthy of employment. He seems also to have accepted individual commissions and then to have moved on to other work.

Similarities in theme and design in mosaics found in and near Berytus and other areas, as near as Apamea but as distant as North Africa, suggest some means of sharing designs, perhaps through traveling artisans, widely published pattern books, or central training centers, workshops, and guilds.[157] A mosaic which depicts Ariadne and Bacchus, dated from the second or third century AD, has been found in Berytus.[158] The mosaic bears comparison to ones found in Volubilis and Rome in theme, design, and coloration. The many references to Bacchus-Dionysius in Berytus suggest a continuing identification with this god, perhaps because of the successful wine production and export.[159] Another mosaic, found also in central Berytus and dated to the late second or early third century AD, depicts the romantic adventures of Jupiter in various disguises.[160] The scenes include vignettes of Antiope and the satyr, Leda and the swan, Ganymede and the eagle, and Danaë and the shower of gold.[161]

Philosophers and their wise sayings are portrayed in an especially well-executed mosaic which was found in the *triclinium* of the Souedidé-Baalbek villa.[162] This villa is so named because it was located on the road from Baalbek to Ras el-Ain in an area favored by Roman colonists in previous centuries. The polychrome mosaic, dated to the fourth century AD or later, has a central medallion picturing Calliope, the muse of eloquence and epic poetry. Surrounding medallions honor Socrates of Athens, Solon of Athens, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindos, Chilon of Lacedemon, Thales of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, and Pitakkos of Lesbos. Each philosopher, one of the 'seven sages,' is pictured in a traditional manner and then named and quoted in Greek. A similar choice of philosophers, sayings, and representation occurs in mosaics at Apamea which shows six sages surrounding Socrates. It is possible that the same artisans created both works or that there were shared design books.[163] In this same villa there is a famous mosaic of the childhood of Alexander with inscriptions designating Alexander, Phillip, a nymph, and Aristotle; some parallels are noted to mosaics found at Antioch and Daphne.[164]

Mosaics which were found in a villa at Jeneh to the south-east of Beirut are now in the courtyard of the National Museum of Beirut.[165] They have been dated to the beginning of the sixth century AD. The most interesting design represents Christ the Good Shepherd in the attitude of Orpheus, surrounded by various wild beasts. This design suggests an adaptation of pagan motifs to Christian themes or an apparent syncretism of artistic motifs.[166]

The mosaics of Berytus and nearby areas have been published in some detail. An especially interesting mosaic preserves a warning against envy.[167]

Also there have been discovered mosaics in the area of the shops which are designated by letters of the Greek alphabet, but with at least one facing in the opposite direction, perhaps under the influence of Semitic writing.[168]

One may infer from the common motifs in mosaics found not only in Syria, but also in North Africa and Europe, that mosaicists knew of the designs executed in quite distant places. Whether this sharing of designs arose from traveling artisans, pattern books, or some venue for exchange of ideas is difficult to know.[169] From the ruling in the *Theodosian Code* and the story of St Eutychius, it seems probable that the mosaicists were independent artisans who worked alone or with members of *their familia* (household or guild). In some cases they might be assisted by an artist (or they might assist an artist) who would draw the design, either traditional or innovative. Some mosaicists had the training to act as both painter and mosaicist. From the *Price Edict,* they appear to have been relatively well-paid by patrons (individuals or groups, such as churches) who commissioned the mosaics. Although mosaics continued to be commissioned for private homes in Late Antiquity, it would appear that the demand for ornamentation of the churches increasingly required skilled mosaicists.[170]

Glass artisans

The following inscription has been identified as commemorating a maker of glass or mica window panes or of mirrors. Therefore this artisan may be more representative of house-building trades than of the famous glassmakers associated with Sidon.

> The tomb with eight places belonging to Sambatios the *spheklararios* and his spouse Leontia.[171]

This inscription came from a Late Roman necropolis (fifth to sixth centuries) excavated in Ashrafiya, probably outside the city walls of ancient Berytus.[172] The name *Sambatios* is a variant of *Sabbatios* which has been found in numerous Jewish and Christian inscriptions and means 'born on the Sabbath.'[173]

Robert convincingly argues that the *spheklararios* is a 'glass-maker' only in the sense of one who made windows (of mica). He discards Mouterde's suggested analogy to the Latin word *specularius,* a 'maker of mirrors.'[174] Instead he draws attention to the root *speklarion*[175]*,* 'mica' or 'window of mica,' in *spheklararios.* The same root appears in another inscription from Rome which commemorates a similar artisan: *artis ispeclararie, Sabinius Santias, anima dulcis, qui vixit annis XLVI.*[176] Robert notes the image of a window inscribed on the inscription in Rome as additional evidence for the artisan as producer of

window panes.[177] Such an artisan seems to have had a workshop which supplied builders and to have acquired a certain amount of disposable income.

The traditional glassworker of Syria may be represented by the examples of fine glass bottles, pitchers, and vases which were also found at this same site (the necropolis of Ashrafiya).[178] Numerous discoveries of glass objects in the recent excavations in Beirut substantiate the importance of the manufacture of glass in the Roman period.[179]

An inscription from Tyre to *Domnos vitrarius,* 'Domnos the glass artisan' confirms the custom of Hellenizing Latin terms for occupations.[180] It also reveals that a glass artisan lived in a neighboring city, other than Sidon which has been considered the center of glass manufacture in this period.

Some of the available evidence for the identity of the glassworkers of Syria points to Jewish ethnicity. Most of the documentation gathered by Heichelheim for his study of Roman Syria was heavily dependent upon Talmudic sources; not surprisingly he found many references to Jewish glass blowers. This finding may be more a reflection of the limited base of his research than of occupational linkage to ethnic or religious group. Likewise, many of the glass-makers mentioned in saints' lives of this period were also Jewish. However, it may be that the writers of saints' lives focused on Jewish artisans of various skills in an effort to demonstrate the power of the saints to convert even difficult prospects. For example, a Jewish glass-maker of Emesa was known for allowing the poor to warm themselves at his furnace.[181] This maker of drinking glasses was converted by St Symeon as were several other members of the Jewish community.[182] Other Jewish glass-makers are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius who was a native of Epiphaneia in Coele Syria.[183]

But it is possible, due to the numerous attestations to Jewish glassmakers, both by the evidence of names, terminology, and the references in Talmudic and hagiographic sources, that Jews were common, if not dominant, in this artisanal production. It may have been an attractive occupation in that it was not ritually impure (no contact with animal products) and that it was a 'free' occupation (see list of exempted artisans given on p. 271).

Metal workers

The occupation of bronze-worker *(chalkourgos)* is attested in a Greco-Latin inscription dated approximately 220 AD which was found at Deir el-Qalaa overlooking Beirut.[184] *Chalkourgos* can mean 'copper-miner'[185] but is here taken to mean 'copper-worker' as in Lucian.[186] The inscription is bilingual, with the Latin portion entirely abbreviated and the Greek version written out in full.

> (Latin) To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Baal and Juno Regina and Juno Sima and Celestis, Quintus Ancharenus Eutyches, willing in spirit, fulfilled a sacred vow.

> (Greek) To the Holy God Baal and the Goddess Hera and the Goddess Sima and the Younger Hera, Quintus Ancharenos Eutyches the bronze-worker and…[187]

The inscription has usually been studied for its religious implications of apparent syncretism of Greek, Roman, and Phoenician paganism.[188] Yet the inscription is of interest for the study of artisans as well. It is noteworthy that the dedicator of the inscription only mentions his occupation in the Greek portion of the inscription. Perhaps his intended audience consisted of fellow artisans who spoke Greek predominantly.

Not many inscriptions to bronze-workers are known, but the inscription from Tyre to a *chalkeos,* a 'bronze-worker,' may be related in terminology and production.[189] Prices to be paid by the piece are set for a *chal[kourgos]* or *aerarius* in Diocletian's Price Edict.[190] *Aerarii* are among the artisans listed in *Theod. Cod.* 13.4.2. It would seem that free status was possible for bronzeworkers unless they worked in state arms factories or other coercive situations.[191] Clearly the artisan who identified himself as a 'bronze-worker' had financial resources and defined himself by his occupation.

A ruling from the *Theodosian Code* reveals that some bronze-workers worked under the direction of the government. These bronze-workers had quotas to meet in the production of helmets decorated with wrought metalwork and then decorated with gold and silver.[192] Although the work of the bronze-workers was clearly elaborate, their status appears 'unfree.' Although 'unfree' persons may also have financial resources such as the *peculium,* it would appear that the *chalkourgos* who commissioned the inscription at Berytus was of independent status. It is therefore all the more interesting that he commemorated not only his religious vow but also his occupation. Some similar characteristics are suggested for a lead-worker, a *plumbarius,* who raised this inscription found at Heliopolis.

> To Jupiter Best and Greatest of Heliopolis, Gaius Tittius Raaus,[193] a worker in lead *(plumbarius),* who consecrated statues of the Sun and of the Moon [and] took a place in the middle between them for setting up [and consecrating] a statue of Victory, illumined with gold, for the safety of the Emperor.[194]

This text is usually cited for its interest in the worship of Heliopolitan Jupiter whose massive temple still dominates the landscape of Heliopolis.[195] It is also noted for the linkage of the worship of *[invictus]* sun, moon, and victory in the name of the emperor. This inscription again reveals Romanization deep in the surrounding area of Heliopolis which was originally part of the territory of the 'colony' of Berytus.[196] A date in the Tetrarchy has been suggested since there are other Latin inscriptions from this period in the temple precinct.[197] Of particular interest is the self-identification of the worshipper as a 'Roman' in naming pattern, religious practice, and terminology for occupation. Other artisans who

worked in lead in the area of Berytus are suggested by the finds of lead sarcophagi,[198] lead curse tablets,[199] and perhaps the lead market weights or seals.[200]

An inscription to a gladiarius, 'sword-maker,' has been found in Beirut. The full inscription reads:

> C.IULIUS VERUS GLADIARIUS VIXIT ANNOS LXX
> 'Gaius Julius Verus, Swordmaker, lived 70 years.'[201]

Although the inscription with its illustration has been labeled as the relief of a gladiator, there can be no doubt that the word *gladiarius* means 'sword-maker,' and is so defined in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. The entry says: 'of or connected with swords; a maker or seller of swords. CIL 13.6677 [negotiator]; CIL 11.7125 [L.Acilius].'

Apparently the honoree of the inscription was known not only for his skill in producing weapons but also had acquired the markings of a prosperous literate citizen. As he reclines on his couch, he can enjoy a meal at the table, probably a reference to the ceremonial meal for the dead. Beneath this couch are status objects, and they appear to be a sword and either boxes or books. His name indicates his Roman identity, either brought with him from Italy, or assumed in this Latin-speaking colony. His longevity attests to a healthful and secure lifestyle.

Conclusion about the artisans of Berytus and environs

In conclusion, the following impressions emerge from the inscriptions of Berytus. Through the centuries, from the 'Roman' period when the artisans commissioned Latin inscriptions to pagan deities to the Late Antique period when artisans commissioned Greek inscriptions with Jewish and Christian symbols, the emphasis on occupation remained constant and common.[202] Such an emphasis appears to transcend identification by differences in ethnicity, religion, or even gender. The inscriptions also provide additional information about the divisions of labor within a specific art in an urban setting and suggest that the workers felt a collegiality with their fellow guild members, despite differences in rank. The variety of religious affiliations, language groups, legal categories, and references to women suggests that artisans were from diverse groups within the urban society of Late Antiquity. Their status might be optional or punitive, state or private or personal in character, creative or more mechanical in production, respected or merely needed in communal regard. All levels of artisans expressed their identity in terms of occupation or profession.

Notes

1 See the comprehensive list of artisan terms in von Petrikovits (1981a) and (1981b). See also Waltzing (1892) and (1895–1900) for an extensive study of guilds. See Van Minnen (1987) for the evidence of the papyri concering the artisans of Egypt and Morel (1993) for a description of Roman craftsmen.

2 See Humphrey, Oleson, and Sherwood (1998) for the numerous primary source passages which describe Greek and Roman technology as well as lending insight into the conditions of the workers.

3 'Artifices artium brevi subdito conprehensarum per singulas civitates morantes ab universis muneribus vacare praecipimus, si quidem ediscendis artibus otium sit adcommodandum; quo magis cupiant et ipsi peritores fieri et suos filios erudire. Architecti, laquearii, albarii, tignarii, medici, lapidarii, argentarii, structores, mulomedici, quadatarii, barbaricarii, scasores, pictores, sculptores, diatritarii, intestinarii, statuarii, musivarii, aerarii, ferrarii, marmorarii, desautores, fusores, blattiari, tessellarii, aurifices, specularii, carpentarii, aquae libratores, vitrarii, eborarii, fullones, figuli, plumbarii, pelliones.' *Cod. Theod.* 13.4.2 The same Augustus [Constantine] to Maximus, Praetorian Prefect. August 2, 337. No place of issuance is given in either the Latin text or English translation. Editor's note that Constantine died on 22 May 337, and rulings were issued in his name until his sons officially acceded to throne in September, according to Eusebius, *VC* 4.67 and Socrates *HE* 1.40. Note translated in Pharr, p. 390, note 9. Latin list of artisans for the *Cod. Theod.* given in a note on *Cod. Just.* 10.66.1. Pharr translation, pp. 390–1.

4 See Susini (1973) for the commissioning of inscriptions by individuals. See Robert (1961) and Patterson (1992) for *collegia* as burial societies.

5 For studies of commemoration as related to inhumation and cremation, see Nock (1932), Ivison (1996), Morris (1992–3), and Cleart (1985).

6 See MacMullen (1987) for a study of Late Roman slavery and MacMullen (1964a) for the possibility of social mobility.

7 Joshel (1992).

8 The *humiliores* had less protection under the law than did the *honestiores*. See Garnsey (1970) 221–80 for excellent discussion of legal implications of social status in Late Antiquity. See MacMullen (1986) for specific examples of legal differentiation between the two groups.

9 J.C.Rolfe's introduction to his translation (1956, vol.1, pp. xxiii–xliv) of Ammianus Marcellinus has a convenient compilation of bureaucratic titles. See also the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Seeck edition).

10 See Salway (1994) 125–45 for detailed study of naming practices and MacAdam (1983) 103–15 for a study of occupational names from the village inscriptions of Syria.

11 Latin text in *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium, CCSL,* vol. 175, 129–30.

12 See Lattimore (1962), MacMullen (1982), and Meyer (1990).

13 Joshel (1992) 62–91.

14 Hopkins (1983) 247–56 writes in collaboration with M.Letts on 'permanent memorials and commemorative foundations' in the chapter 'Death in Rome.'

15 Rey-Coquais (1977) for full publication of the inscriptions from the necropolis of Tyre and (1979a) for an analysis of the various occupations recorded there.

16 See J.Harris (1993) for a general survey of textiles in antiquity.
17 See section on economic base of the city, pp. 24–8.
18 See Muthesius (1989) 135–49 and (1995b).
19 Procopius, *Anecdota or Secret History* 25.13–4. Dewing translation, 6:297.
20 See Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996) for the formation of voluntary associations, based on work and/or religion.
21 Text given by Waddington, 1854c (p. 443). Mouterde (1929a) 96–102; Mouterde (1964) 182–3.
22 Alexander Kazhdan, *ODB,* s.v. 'Serikarios.'
23 Rey-Coquais (1995) translates *sericarius* as 'ouvriers ou ouvrières en soie.' See also Rey-Coquais (1977) 156, note 5.
24 Pleket (1983) 140–3.
25 [De mercedi]bus plumariorum et sericarioru[m], 'Concerning the wages of featherworkers (?) and of silk-workers,' 'Concerning the wages of featherworkers (?) and of silk-workers,' Lauffer (1971) 160.
26 *seirikarios ergadzomenos, Edict. Diocl.* 20.9. Lauffer (1971) 160.
27 See Granger-Taylor (1987) for a detailed analysis of weaving and dyeing process used in silk fragments, now kept in the Vatican museum. The range of colors and motifs is impressive in fabrics used for clothing and ecclesiastical purposes. For detailed studies of silk textiles in various museum collections, see Muthesius (1995a); Endrei and Sipos (1987); and Granger-Taylor, Jenkins, and Wild (1989).
28 CIL VI.9678.
29 *CIL* XIV.2793=*ILS* 5449 and *CIL* XIV.2812=*ILS* 7681.
30 See Pliny, *NH* VI. 17.54 for women's role in weaving silk cloth. See GrangerTaylor (1987) for discussion.
31 Latin papyrus referring to George of Antioch, a silk merchant, who was in business at Ravenna in the sixth century AD. See Tjäder (1954–82), no. 4–5, B.V.13, VI.14.
32 See Chapter 3 on the ecomony for full presentation of the evidence of Procopius and Jerome. See C.P.Jones (1978), Pleket (1983), and Bury (1923) 316 who cites Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei* 4.14 for multitude of Syrian merchants in Gaul. See Mommsen (1909) 2:139–40 for discussion and citation of Gregory of Tours 8.1 and 10.26; Jerome *in Ezech.* 27; and inscriptions from Treves.
33 The Book of the Eparch chapters 4–9, pp. 236–49. I have not followed Freshfield (1938) who translated *serikarioi* as 'silk dyers' because there is no stem in the word for 'dyer.' I find his other translations acceptable: *metaxiopratai* as 'raw silk merchants,' *vestiopratai* as 'merchants of silk stuffs,' *katartarioi* as 'raw silk dressers,' and *othoniopratai* as 'linen merchants.'
34 Muthesius (1989), especially the chart on p. 145, has elaborately reconstructed the steps involved in silk production and suggests that the term *serikarioi* refers to 'factory owners' or 'overseers of members of the guilds of dressers, weavers, dyers and tailors.' However, because the term is so general and inclusive, it would seem to refer to all the workers involved in the process of silk production and weaving, except those specifically named as having separate guilds.
35 Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25.8–9. *CCSL,* vol. 175, p. 71. English translation in Wilkinson (1999) 146–7. It seems probable that the churches in Berytus and Tyre were also adorned with silk curtains and other draperies. Eusebius *HE* 10.4.37–46 described the church at Tyre and then likened the building to the bride of Christ who was adorned with beautiful garments (10.4.48).

36 *SHA,* ‘Antoninus Elagabalus,’ 26.1. Magie translation, vol. 2, p. 157. See Kádár (1968) for discussion of the *SHA* citations for *serica*.

37 ‘…A Berito venimus Sidona… De Sidona venimus Sarepta… Exeuntes de Sarapta venimus in civitatem Tyro… Tyro homines potentes, vita pessima tantae luxuriae, quae dici non potest; genicia publica olosirica vel diversis generibus telarum. Et inde venimus Ptolomaida.’ *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* 1–2, in *Itineraria et alia geographica, CCSL* 175, pp. 129–30. My translation. For entire passage and translation, see Chapter 5 on the Late Antique city.

38 Wilkinson (2000) 131 now translates this passage thus: The people of Tyre are prosperous, and live lives of a luxury too disgraceful to describe: there are weaving factories for silk with many kinds of looms.’ This is a revision of Wilkinson (1977) 79: The people of Tyre are violent, and live lives of a luxury too disgraceful to describe, for they have public brothels hung with pure silk and every kind of material,’ In his introduction, Wilkinson acknowledges this author for the change in wording.

39 The term ‘public’ seems to mean ‘government-supervised.’

40 See Wild (1987) for study of the Roman horizontal loom.

41 *gynaceum: Cod. Theod.* 1.32.1.1 (AD 333); 1.32.1.2 (AD 333); 9.27.7.2 (AD 390); 10.20.2.2 (AD 358); 10.20.7.2 (AD 372); 10.21.1.4 (AD 369); 11.1.24.1 (AD 395); 16.8.6.3 (AD 339). *gynaecarius: Cod. Theod.* 7.6.5.3 (AD 423); 10.20.16.2 (AD 426); 10.20.3.2 (AD 365); 11.28.3.3,2 (AD 401). Compare the regulations for linen weavers: *linyfarius Cod. Theod.* 10.20.16.2 (AD 426). *linyfus: Cod.* Theod.10.20.8. 5 (AD 374); 10.8.5.22 (AD 435); 10.10.27.7 (AD 415); 10.10.29.10 (AD 421); 10. 10.31.2 (AD 422); 10.10.32.6 (AD 425); 10.10.32.16 (AD 425); 10.13.1.4 (AD 386); 11.7.13.2 (AD 386); (seventeen in book 11); and seven more in books 12–16. *Gynaecia* is also spelled *gynaecea* or *gynaikea*.

42 ‘In linteamina sunt hae: Scythopolis, Laodicia, Byblus, Tyrus, Berytus quae linteamen omni orbi terrarum emittunt, et sunt eminentes in omni abundantia. Similiter autem et Sarepta et Caesarea et Neapolis, quomodo et Lydda, purpuram alithinam’. Latin text from *Expositio totius mundi et gentium,* ed. Rougé (XXXI E), pp. 163–5. My translation.

43 *Edict. Diocl.* 21.5. See A.H.M.Jones (1970) for a convenient study of the cloth industry and Mayerson (1997) for flax production in Egypt.

44 A.H.M.Jones (1960b) 356. See *Cod. Theod.* 7.6.1–5, *De militari veste* (Pharr translation, pp. 164–5) for particular regulations for requisitions in clothing and money payments.

45 *Cod. Tkeod.* 10.20.2 (AD 358). Emperor Constantius Augustus to Taurus, Praetorian Prefect. 19 March 358. Pharr translation, p. 285.

46 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.6 (AD 372). The same Augustuses [Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian] to Modestus. 27 June 372. Pharr translation, p. 286.

47 Ammianus Marcellinus 14.9.7. Rolfe translation, vol. 1, p. 79.

48 See Wild (1987) for a technical study of the design and workings of Roman looms.

49 A.H.M.Jones (1970) 357, note 45, cites *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* XX. 53. See also Sozomen, *HE* 5.15 for weavers in Cyzicus who produced fabrics for the government, apparently in private workshops. Greek text given in A.H.M.Jones (1964) 837, note 31.

50 See A.Kazhdan, *ODB* s.v. ‘Gynaikeion’ for important discussion of evolution and implication of this term for ‘weaver.’

51 Term is wrongly translated as 'women's apartments' by Richardson in A *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. 1, pp. 508–9.

52 Term is wrongly translated as 'harems' by Hartranft in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. 2, p. 244.

53 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.16 [=*Cod. Just.* 11.8.13]. Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian Augustuses to Acacius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. 23 February 426. Pharr translation, p. 287.

54 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.3 (AD 365) [=*Cod. Just.* 2.8.3]. Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augustuses to Germanus, provincial Governor. 28 June 365. Pharr trans lation, p. 286. Note that there is no word for 'ignoble' in the Latin text. See Treggiari (1991) for discussion of *contubernia* and its legal implications.

55 *Cod. Theod.* 16.8.6. (AD 339). Emperor Constantius Augustus to Evagrius. 13 August 339. Pharr translation, p. 467.

56 O'Roark (1994) 90–1, translating John Chrysostom, *In epistulam I ad Corinthos argumentum et homilia 34* (*PG* 61.291).

57 See Lattimore (1962) 297–8 for several inscriptions praising the wife as weaver. See Sozomen, *HE* 6.25 for description of women singing hymns as they worked at their looms.

58 Libanius, of course, has ideas about appropriate sources of wealth.

59 Heichelheim (1938) 191–2 has many citations to weavers of Semitic origin (especially from Palestine and Babylonia).

60 Rey-Coquais (1979a) 282. See Reinhold (1970) for the importance of purple in general, and Bridgeman (1987) for the importance of purple in Late Antiquity and after.

61 PURPURARIUS PRO SALVT. SVA ET SUORUM V[otum] L[ibens] A[nimo] S [olvit], *CIL* III.6685 (Syria suppl, p. 1222). See Clermont-Ganneau (1888a) 112–3 for his publication of this text and (1888b) for a related inscription. See now the discussion in Milik (1972) 416–23 and Servais-Soyez (1986) for religious interpretations of the inscriptions to Juno (or Venus), Jupiter and Mercury and their Semitic equivalents in the Heliopolitan triad, also worshipped at Berytus. Virtually all the analysis of these inscriptions has been done along religious avenues and very little along social lines of inquiry.

62 Rey-Coquais (1977) 158.

63 Rey-Coquais (1977) 158, note 5.

64 Pleket (1983) for the wealth and political success of a seller of purple.

65 Pliny, *NH* 9–62.135: 'in colore sanguinis concreti, nigricans aspectu idemque suspectu refulgens,' Rackham translation 3:254.

66 See Reinhold (1970) for more terms.

67 See *purpura* citations in Lauffer (1971), 325.

68 Citations not given. In a general list of occupations in Joshel (1992) 176–82, the reader is referred to the *index vocabulorum* of E.J.Jory and D.G.More in *CIL* 6.vii.

69 Joshel (1992) 136.

70 *CIL* VI. 37820. Cited, partially quoted and translated, and discussed in Joshel (1992) 136 who is using the inscription to analyze issues of freedman status and 'marriage.' The three undated inscriptions to *purpuraria* are *CIL* VI. 9846 and 37820 *(libertae),* VI.9848 and 37820 (locations given) and are cited and discussed in Kampen (1981) 126, note 85.

71 See the article 'Purple' in *ODB,* 3: pp. 1759–60.

72 See the article ‘Purple’ in *OCD*3, p. 1280.>

73 Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* II (Cl. Mondésert and H.-I.Marrou, [eds]), *SC* 108 (1965), ch. X bis, 115,1; cited in Rey-Coquais (1977) 158, note 7.

74 *porphyrabaphos,* J. and L.Robert, *BE* (1970) 625 and (1971) 250 and 647; cited in Rey-Coquais (1977) 158, note 6.

75 *porphyropoles,* J. and L.Robert, *BE* (1970) 625 and (1971) 650; cited in Rey-Coquais (1977) 159, note 1.

76 Acts 16:11–15 for Lydia, a native of Thyratira in Asia Minor plying her trade as a ‘seller of purple’ at Phillipi. John Chrysostom has eighteen references to the term *porphyropolis,* ‘seller of purple,’ and at least one specific reference to Lydia and Paul.

77 Holum (1982) has the best treatment of this conflict between Eudoxia and John Chrysostom who compared the empress to Salome and Jezebel.

78 John Chrysostom, Homily 35, *PG* 61.253; translated in *The Homilies of John Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford 1852) vol. 2, p. 112.

79 See E.Clark (1979) 107–57 for details of the life of Olympias who showed generosity to the ascetic preacher. See also E.Clark (1986) for feminine social advancement resulting from such exemplary benefaction towards prominent religious leaders in this period.

80 Her insistent hospitality to Paul and his fellow missionaries suggests both a certain level of wealth and a customary assertiveness, unhindered by any reference to a male figure, such as a husband, father, son, or other male guardian.

81 Proverbs 31:22. Text given in *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint,* edited by Henry Barclay Swete, 3 vols (Cambridge: 1930). ‘She made a double cloak for her husband from fine linen and for herself garments of purple.’ Sermons, extolling model behavior for Christian women in Late Antiquity, would flow as readily from the language of the Septuagint for Old Testament topics as from the New Testament.

82 *epitropei tes kata Tyron halourgou baphes,* Eusebius, *HE* 7.32.2; Oulton and Lawler translation 2:229

83 *Cod. Theod.* 1.32.1 (AD 333) [=*Cod. Just.* 2.8.3.] Emperor Constantine Augustus to Felix. 16 October-1 November 333. Pharr translation, p. 34.

84 *Notitia Dignitatum,* Seeck edition, p. 36.

85 *Cod. Theod.* 10.21.3. (424) [=*Cod. Just.* 2.9–4.] Emperor Theodosius Augustus to Maximinus, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. 16 January 424. Pharr translation, p. 288.

86 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.18. (AD 436) [=*Cod. Just.* 2.9.5.] The same Augustuses [Theodosius and Valentinian] to Apollonius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. 8 March 436. Pharr translation, pp. 287–8.

87 Jones (1960b) 361, note 73 cites these inscriptions for dyers: *IGRR* IV.816, 822 (Hierapolis), 1213, 1239, 1242, 1250, 1265 (Thyateira), III, 360 (Sagalassus), *BCH* 10 (1886), 519 (Tralles), *Chr.* I.251 (Tebtunis).

88 Reese (1986) 183; see also Reese (1979–80).

89 Cardon (1989).

90 See Renan (1864) 350 for the text of the inscription, and Mouterde (1929a) for commentary.

91 *Knikion, knekos* 'safflower-yellow,' and *konchyleus,* 'fisher of purple dye fish,' in *A Greek-English Lexicon,* by H.G.Liddell and R.Scott, 9th edn, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1996.

92 Rey-Coquais (1995).

93 Pliny, *NH* 9.63.138–40, Rackham translation 3:257–9.

94 Rey-Coquais (1995).

95 *Konchyleis* and *konchyleutai,* for the fishers of the murex, *konchylokopoi,* for the extracters of the purple dye, and *konchyloplytai, aletheinobaphos* for those workers who dipped the fabric into the purple dye. Rey-Coquais (1977) 159.

96 Observation in personal correspondence (1995) from Rey-Coquais who noted that there are no known inscriptions from Berytus with the *word piston* as was common in Tyre. Note however that the inscription for the *kalligraphissa* was marked with a cross.

97 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.14 (AD 424)=*Cod. Just.* 2.8.11. Emperor Theodosius Augustus and Valentinian Caesar to Maximinus, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses, 16 October 424. Pharr translation, p. 287. In this translation, Pharr interprets *origo* by adding 'low.'

98 'Si quis uxorem de familiis conchylegulorum acceperit, sciat condicioni eorundem se esse nectendum.' *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.5 (371). Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian Augustuses to Philematius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. 28 June 371. Pharr translation, p. 286. In this translation, Pharr interprets *condicio* by adding 'ignoble.'

99 See Evans Grubbs (1995) and Treggiari (1991) for discussion of dowry and marriage. John Lydus, *On Powers* 28 (Bandy translation 176–7) refers to the large dowry which his wife brought him as an important contribution to his financial security.

100 *Cod. Theod.* 13.1.9 (AD 372). The same Augustuses [Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian] to Leontius, Governor *[consularis]* of Phoenicia. Posted at Beirut on the day before the kalends of July in the year of the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus, 30 June 372. Pharr translation, p. 386.

101 See section on economic base of the city in Chapter 3 for discussion of taxes on other groups in the city.

102 *Cod. Theod.* 10.20.12 [=*Cod. Just.* II.8.9.] 26 September 385. Pharr, translation, p. 287.

103 Reese (1986) 183 gives the figures of 0.1 milligram of dye per shell and 12,000 shells yield 1.5 grams of dye which is enough for the trim of one garment.

104 Some may also have been of servile or indentured status.

105 Reese (1979–80) 83 based on Pliny, *NH* IX.125–42. David S.Reese of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, generously furnished this article and numerous other bibliographic citations. See Michel and McGovern (1987a), (1987b), and (1990) for chemical analysis of the process. See Bruin (1970) for general survey and illustrations of related archeological finds. See also Doumet (1980) and (1999) for studies of this process.

106 Jerome, *In Ezech.* 27.15–16. *PL* 25.267C (see also *CCSL* 75). Latin text and English translation given in M.J.Kelly (1944) 32. See section on merchants in Chapter 4 on the economy for full discussion of the wealth of the merchants of purple and luxury fabrics.

107 Procopius, *Anecdota or Secret History* 25.13–26; Dewing translation 6:297–301.

108 *Cod. Just.* 8.13.27. A.H.M.Jones (1960) reprinted as (1974) 362.

109 MacMullen (1964a).

110 Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996).

111 Mouterde (1929a) 96–7 says that it came from the monuments which were found between Avenue Allenby and Rue Foch. The dimensions are: length, 0.90 m; height, 0.27 m; thickness, 0.175 m. The stone is gray-white. Mouterde (1929a) 97, note 1.

112 *sorin Metaxias kalligraphissas – – ou – S – tou – –, SEG* VII. 196. Mouterde (1929a) 96–8, dated to the fifth to sixth centuries AD.

113 See illustration on pl. 6. It was previously published in Jidejian (1973) pl. 115, Jidejian (1997) 153, and *Liban* (1998) 206.

114 Rey-Coquais (1977) 147–8 lists names associated with colors or with silk for men and women. See Salway (1994) for the general trend in Late Antiquity to use names made from adjectives. See discussion on p. 223 on the trend to use an occupation as a second name in this period.

115 Rey-Coquais (1995). See MacMullen (1964b) 88. Note the lavish embroidered garments given as gifts in the *SHA.* See also the embroidered textiles illustrated and discussed in Grabar (1967) 323–36. However, many designs in the silk fabric were woven in a brocade design and did not require a separate step of embroidery. Granger-Taylor (1987) has a minute analysis of such woven fabric designs from textiles of the third century AD. See Muthesius (1984) for a history of Byzantine silk.

116 Mouterde (1964) 184: 'L'une est l'épitaphe d'une certain *Metaxia, kalligraphissa*—nous traduirions "Ouvreuse en soie grége" (c'est un nom propre) "la calligraphe" c'est-à-dire la maîtresse en écriture (?) ou "en enluminure" (?) ou "en broderie" (?).'

117 Compare *diaconissa,* 'deaconess,' given as the feminine equivalent of *diaconus,* 'deacon,' in *Cod. Theod.* 5.3.1 (AD 434), *De clericorum et monachorum,* The Estates of Clerics and Monks.' Pharr translation, p. 107. See E.Clark (1983) for the role of women in the early church.

118 Heichelheim (1938) 172, note 57, includes this inscription without comment as evidence for the occupation of scribe.

119 Liddell and Scott's *Greek—English Lexicon* (9th edn) defines *kalligraphos* as 'penman, copyist' with a second definition from the root verb 'paint beautifully.' Typically, however, other terms are used for 'painter.' Other inscriptions for the occupation of *kalligraphos* could not be found.

120 Lauffer (1971) 120–1; Edict. *Diocl.* 7.39 setting a wage of 25 denarii for 100 verses [lines of text?] to a scribe in the best scriptorium: *scriptori in scr(ri)ptura optima versus n. centum D. XXV; kalligraphoi is graphen ka[llisten] stichon r'* [=100]

121 *hypo techniton kalligraphon kai akribos ten technen epistamenon graphenai,* 'by artisans, scribes also precisely skilled in the art of writing,' *De vita Constantini* 4. 36.1 (line 8), in F.Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* (Berlin: 1975), pp. 133–4, or *PG* 20.1135. See Weitzmann (1977) for examples of illuminated Syrian manuscripts.

122 Note that Theophanes bought papyrus in Syria, *PRyl* vol. 4, p. 106. See also Pliny, NH 1373; 'It has also been recently realized that papyrus growing near the Euphrates [has] the same use for writing material.'

123 See Bischoff (1990) 72–5 for discussion of legal texts attributed to the scribes of Berytus before mid-sixth century AD. See also the discussion in Parker (1992) on the origin of the *Codex Bezae*. I owe this reference to Henry MacAdam.

124 Treggiari (1976) 77–8 with note 8. The citations are *CIL* VI.3979, 9301, 9525, 8882, 37802, 9540, 9541, and 9542. See also Joshel (1992) for important general discussion of the occupational inscriptions, particularly as revealing the role of women as workers.

125 Hopkins (1991) has an important study of the 'increased density' of literacy in the Roman Empire. He notes the spread of writing among the lower classes as revealed in the papyri from Egypt, in particular. 'In Tebtunis, in a single year (AD 45–6) 377 men and 84 women acted as principals in a contract, affidavit, memorandum, or petition. The number of contracts, affidavits, etc., officially registered in the village scribal office *(grapheion)* totaled about 700 a year, an enormous number for a village.' Hopkins (1991) 141, note 21. Compare the legal documents of a woman in the Babatha archive, at last definitively published in Lewis, Yadin, and Greenfield (1989).

126 Haines-Eitzen (1998) and (2000). See also Meier (1991).

127 Hopkins (1991) 147–8 also notes the impetus of Christianity in promoting literacy for purposes of persuasion, controversy, and worship.

128 *Passio S. Catherinae,* 26, ed. J.Viteau (Paris, 1897); cited and discussed by Baldwin (1982b) 86.

129 *Vita Altera Matronae* 2, translated in Bennasser (1984) 119.

130 *Vita Altera Matronae* 6, translated in Bennasser (1984) 123.

131 *Vita Altera Matronae* 28, translated in Bennasser (1984) 146.

132 Topping (1988) 212.

133 John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints, PO* 17, cap. 1, pp. 15–6. Cited and discussed in Magoulias (1976) 21.

134 Excellent technical publication of these mosaics in Chéhab (1958–9). See also Chéhab (1951), Morss (1997–8), Alpi (1996), J.Balty (1995), and Bowersock (1998b) for mosaics in the city and the region.

135 See Feissel (1994) for a study of the inscriptions in mosaics in churches in Syria and Lebanon.

136 Campbell (1988). See also Campbell (1979) 287–92, pls 42–4, which discusses mosaic motifs in Turkey and Greece which are similar to ones in Syria and France. Bruneau (1984) suggests a regional diffusion of artisans.

137 *Edict. Diocl.* 7.6–7. Lauffer (1971) 118–19.

138 Term referring to a 'mosaic-maker'.

139 Term referring to a 'tile-setter' or 'pebble-placer'.

140 *Edict. Diocl.* 7.8: *pictori parietario/[toicho]graphoi*. Lauffer (1971) 118–19.

141 *Edict. Diocl* 7.9: *pictori imaginario/[eikono]graphoi*. Lauffer (1971) 118–19.

142 *Edict. Diocl.* 7.19: *mulioni l[mul]liom* Lauffer (1971) 118–19

143 *Edict. Diocl.* 7.18: *pastori l[no]mei* Lauffer (1971) 118–19.

144 Chéhab (1958) 127–8; (1959) pl. LXXXV; see Salzman (1990) for comparable images of the months as illustrated in a book of 354 AD. See Parrish (1984) for the season mosaics of North Africa. Perhaps the mosaics most comparable are those of the months and season in Argos.

145 Levi (1947); Campbell (1988); Kondoleon (2001).

146 See Isager and Poulson (1997) for the relationship of patronage and mosaic execution.

147 Chéhab (1958) 131–4, 139.

148 *LATHRA|ZOGRAPH||??|| EUTHYPSEPHO; lathra(–) zograph(os) Euth(–) psepho (thetos).* Text given in *SEG* (1984) 1445 as 'Inscription from Berytos? Signatures of a painter and a mosaic worker on a mosaic (?), 2nd half of the 5th—early 6th Cent. AD' See also *ILCV* 666, cited in Sodini (1979).

149 See Bruneau (1984) 263–4. This is a re-publication with new reading of the inscription originally published in Chéhab (1958) 127 with an epigraphic notice by Mouterde appended. See also J. and L. Robert, *REG* 74 (1961) *BE* no. 783 (p.250).

150 *Vie de Sévère* 48; Mouterde (1964) 179; discussed in Trombley (1993) 2.29–30.

151 Chéhab (1958) 165–71; (1959) pls CV–CX; dated by Chéhab to end of fifth or beginning of sixth century AD. See Jidejian (1973) plate 180, for mosaic floor *in situ* in the excavated Byzantine church at Beit Mery.

152 Chéhab (1958) 141–64; (1959) pls XCI-CIV.

153 Chéhab (1958) 107–21; (1959) pls LIX-LXXXI; Saidah (1975) and (1978); Duval and Caillet (1982).

154 *Mousotes* does not appear in inscription searches; *Psephiotes* is the common term for 'mosaicist' in inscriptions. The related verb frequently appears also in inscriptions in connection with naming the donor of a mosaic.

155 'An outstanding craftsman in mosaics' *Vita S.Eutychii, PG* 86 [2], cols. 2333–6, cited and discussed in Magoulias (1976) 19, note 35. Magoulias cites these inscriptions for comparable terminology: H.Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie mineure* (Paris: 1922), 73 [226.5]; and *IGLS* I, 134 [252a]; III, 447; 442 [770].

156 See Salzman (1999) for Christianization of time and space, and Caraher (2003) for the Christian evidence of the mosaics in Greece. See also Spiro (1978) for a full catalog and study of Late Antique mosaic pavements in Greece.

157 See J.Balty (1984), (1989a), and (1995); Isager and Poulson (1997); H. Stern (1965); and L'Orange and Nordhagen (1966).

158 Chéhab (1958) 11–4; (1959) pl. II.

159 See Nonnus's *Dionysiaca,* Bowersock (1990) 44, and Liebeschuetz (1995) and (1996b).

160 See Wattel de Croizant (1996) for illustrations and full discussion.

161 Chéhab (1958) 21–7; Chéhab (1958) pls VIII-X.

162 Chéhab (1958) 29–52; Chéhab (1959) pls XI-XXVI. See Jidejian (1975) 42–42 and pls, 337–34, for color illustrations of this beautiful mosaic. Chéhab suggests that the villa was owned by a pagan because of the total absence of any Christian symbols, the discovery of a rolled gold curse tablet (published as an appendix to the discussion of the mosaics), and the presence of a mosaic inscription honoring the owner of the house as a 'philosopher.' See Mouterde, in Chéhab (1958) 44.

163 The mosaics of the philosophers are similar to mosaics found at Apamea and at Cologne. The mosaic at Apamea shows six sages surrounding Socrates and is published in J.-C.Balty (1984). See also J.Balty (1989a) and J. and J.-C.Balty (1984). The Cologne mosaic features these philosophers in medallions: Socrates, Sophocles, Diogenes, Chilo, and Thales according to Chébab (1951) 91. Comparable mosaics in Athens and Naples are noted as well. See also J.-C. Balty (1986), (1988), and (1989).

164 See Bowersock (1998b) and Will (1989a). Illustrated also in *Liban,* p. 183.

165 Chéhab (1958) 53–79; Chéhab (1959), pls XXVII–XXXV. Jidejian (1973) has some plates of the Roman-Byzantine mosaics from Jenah as well: pl. 181, mosaic of the good shepherd, described in text; pl. 183, mosaic with date palm tree and bird motifs; and pl. 185, mosaic with vases, vines, floral designs. These mosaics from Jenah, 'rescued' and placed on the grounds of the Beirut National Museum, reveal the pock-marks of gun-fire from the decade-long civil war in Beirut.

166 This mosaic has many points of comparison to an Italian mosaic (from Aquileia, Cathedral of Bishop Theodore) of the good shepherd with a harp (David as prototype, Christ as fulfillment of type). The shepherd, carrying one sheep and comforting another, is enclosed in an octagonal medallion. This mosaic is published in Grabar (1968) 129-Similar motifs in mosaics from Rouen, Vienna, Apamea, and Jerusalem. Chéhab (1958) 67.

167 See illustration (pl. 7). Fully published in Alpi (1996) and also illustrated and discussed in *Liban,* p. 209; see Limberis (1991) for the ancient view of the danger of the evil eye and envy.

168 See Morss (1997–8) for the full publication of these mosaics.

169 Campbell (1979) and (1988), J.Balty (1989a), and Bruneau (1984) address some of these issues. See also the journal *AIEMA*.

170 Butler (1929); Tchalenko (1953–8); Saidah (1978); and J.Balty (1989a).

171 *[S]oros syn [t]ois [o]kto thekes di[a]pherousa Sambatiou sphekla[r]a(riou) ke Leontias [g]ametes autou. SEG* VII. 197.

172 Mouterde (1929) 96–102.

173 Kajanto (1963) gives forty Christian or Semitic occurrences of the name *Sabbatios*.

174 Robert (1965) 340 is not entirely convincing when he discards the analogy of the term *ispheclaria,* 'mirrors of glass,' in the Talmud.

175 See von Petrikovitz (1981a) 114 and (1981b) 303.

176 An epitaph found in Rome in the cemetery of Domitilla, *ILS* 7647; *ILCV* 668.

177 Robert (1965) 339–42.

178 See Jidejian (1973) pls 186–94 which show the Phoenician—Roman glass collection of Lady Cochrane. These glass vessels were retrieved by her father Alfred Sursock from the Roman-Byzantine necropolis on her property in Ashrafiya in Beirut. E.M.Stern (1995) discusses the nearly 200 Syro Phoenician glass objects in the Toledo Museum of Art. See also Philippe (1970) for a general history of Byzantine glass.

179 See Jennings (1997), (1997–8), and (1998–9); Jennings and Abdallah (2001–2); and Jennings *et al* (2001) for full reports on these finds.

180 Latin name and occupation, written in Greek letters; Rey-Coquais (1977) 68, no. 117.

181 *Hyalapsos.*

182 Maker of drinking glasses *(poterin) Vita S. Symonis Sali, Acta Sanctorum,* Iul. I, cap. 54, p.146; cited and discussed in Magoulias (1976) 21. See Harden (1935) for a full presentation of Romano-Syrian drinking glasses with mold-blown inscriptions.

183 Evagrius, *HE,* (eds J.Bidez and L.Parmentier) 4.36 (pp.185–6); cited and discussed in Magoulias (1976) 23.

184 For description of the site see Chapter 7 on paganism.

185 Strabo 3.2.9, C147.

186 *Lucian, Jupiter Tragoedus* 33.
187 See pp. 131–2 and pp. 152–3, n.28, for a full presentation of the text of this inscription.
188 See Chapter 7 on paganism above for discussion of the religious aspects of this inscription.
189 *Chalkeos,* Rey-Coquais (1977) 99, no. 179.
190 *Chal[kourgos], Edict. Diocl.* 7.24–28; Lauffer (1971) 120–1.
191 See Zuheir (1998–9) for the publication of bronzes found in Beirut; the place of manufacture may be unknown.
192 *De fabrecensibus. Cod. Theod.* 10.22.1. 'Armorers.' Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian Augustuses to Tatianus, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. March 11, 374. Pharr translation, p. 288.
193 This *cognomen* has been supplied variously as…*ralaeus* in *CIL* III.14386d, as *[Ca] maeus* in *IGLS* VI.2723 (based on a similar one in *CIL* 111.11699 III 10), and as *Raaus* in Hajjar (1977) vol. 1, pp. 42–4, inscription 24.
194 'I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) C(aius) Tittius Raaus (?) plumbarius qui sta/tuas Solis et Lunae consacravit, locum inter eas medium ad statuam Victori/[ae] auro inluminatam, pro sal(ute) imper(atoris) [con]locandam consacrandam oc/[cupa]vit.' *IGLS* VI. 2723 (p.56)=*CIL* III 14386d.
195 See Hajjar (1990abc) for useful articles on Heliopolis and the cults associated with the site.
196 See Chapter 4 on political past above for full discussion of relation of Heliopolis as first a part of the territory of Berytus and then a separate *colonia*.
197 See Milik (1972) or *IGLS* VI for date.
198 Mouterde (1929b) which describes five lead sarchophagi from the necropolis of Ashrafiya. Mouterde assigns a date of the third century AD (p.249), based on coins located in comparable lead sarcophagi found previously in Syria. See Bertin (1974). However, J.C.Smith (1984) suggests a date in the first century based on a comparison of the grave goods in the sarcophagus of Claudia Procla (two gold bracelets, a small gold ring, an *amphoirskos* of dark blue glass with yellow handles, pieces of a carved bone or ivory pin, bronze rings and chains from a carrying harness, two swinging handles, two hasps or catchplates from a lock fastening, the lock plate from an the interior mechanism of a lock, bronze fittings from a casket, some glass paste, a bronze cylinder apparently designed to hold a wooden instrument, and a long nail) to a Roman tomb at Knossos. Smith rejects Mouterde's dating of the caskets to the third century AD, based on the re-dating of the glass *amphoriskos* after 1929.
199 See pp. 183–4 on individual belief in Chapter 7 on religion.
200 Lead seal or weight (undated) from Berytus, inscribed with the name of Nikon, the *agoranomus.* See Rouvier (1897). Jidejian (1973) pl. 73. See also *SEG* 16 (1959), 801–2, for weights of Aspasios the *agoranomos,* possibly from Byblus. See Cheynet, Morrison, and Seibt (1991) for comprehensive discussion of such weights from Late Antique Syria from the collection of Henri Seyrig. See also Zacos and Veglery (1972) and Alpi (1997).
201 Illustrated on the cover and in pl. 10. In the museum collection, this is numbered as DGA 4577, and is labelled as *relief au gladiateur*.
202 Joshel (1992); Kampen (1981); MacMullen (1982) 233–46.

11
CONCLUSION

The Late Antique city of Berytus had many characteristics common to other cities of the Greek East. However, there appear to have been some distinctive qualities about Berytus, reflecting her geographical location, the varied economic base, the influx of educated foreigners, and her historical relationship to Tyre, Heliopolis, and the province of Phoenicia.

Geographical and economic factors endowed Berytus with the opportunity to acquire wealth through trade, along routes running both from south to north and east to west. Such commerce, by land and sea, provided Berytus a financial base which permitted the city some independence of action. The relatively fertile Biqaa Valley provided food sufficient for the residents of a city which did not exceed the productive potential of its territory. The high value of the products in which she traded (textiles, dyes) provided an income which was noted in its day. The law schools provided other financial resources to the city—from discretionary spending by the students, to disposable income from the salaries of the teachers, to the demand for books and copyists. Pilgrim traffic to and from such cities as Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch to the sacred destinations of the 'Holy Land' seems to have enriched the city as well. The size of the city did not exceed the available resources. Berytus was fortunate in having a 'balanced' economy with varied sources of wealth.

Historically, the unique role of Berytus as a 'Roman colony' and the site of the law schools fostered Romanization of the city and the surrounding area by the usage and late retention of the Latin language. Furthermore, the instruction in the laws reinforced this perception that Berytus was 'the most Roman city of the Greek East.' The rewards for mastery of these two difficult subjects attracted many foreigners to the city who willingly prepared themselves for careers in the government. Such well-educated rhetoricians and jurists knew how to frame arguments successfully. Their presence seems to have fostered an atmosphere of intellectual independence in which not only theological dissent but even pagan discourse were permissible until a late period.

The influx of foreigners for trade, education, travel stopovers, and other kinds of interchange seems to have allowed Berytus to develop a cosmopolitan diversity. In such a city a variety of dialects were heard, and divergent religious views were expressed. The evidence suggests that Berytus did not always

conform in matters of religious controversy to the views of her neighboring cities, such as Tyre. This non-conformity began with the Arian controversy in the time of Constantine and continued well into the disputes of the reign of Justinian and beyond. For example, the usual statement that the 'Syrian' coast was solidly Monophysite can be shown not to be true in Berytus. In fact, it seems that more often than not, the bishops of Berytus (if not always the people) aligned themselves with the views of the emperor at Constantinople.

Furthermore, the long-existing definition of Berytus as a 'Phoenician' city would seem to suggest that the people of Berytus may have regarded themselves as separate from the people of Syria or Egypt in some way. Scholars have found it convenient to lump Semitic peoples together, but certainly there were perceived distinctions between the people of Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Gaza in Palestine, and Berytus (and Tyre and Heliopolis) in Phoenicia. Just as modern scholars of ethnicity have learned that Hispanics or Arabs or Blacks see hierarchical differences within their own groups, so it seems that ancient peoples assigned hierarchical differences to their distinctive *ethnos*. The difficulty of translating this term should not blind us to the realization that in antiquity, differing strengths and weaknesses were assigned to various divisions, or 'nations,' of humanity. The interesting aspect of this 'ethnic identification' is that many persons would refer to themselves as 'Phoenicians,' 'Greeks,' or 'Romans' in a language not necessarily linked to the *ethnos*. Such an ability to establish separate or overlapping identities would not surprise modern residents of Beirut who are able to recognize varying degrees of ethnic or cultural identity through the medium of more than one language.

Phoenician identity appears to have gained 'superior' status to Syrian identity in some perceptible way in this period. However, it is clear that the number of speakers of Syriac increased in Berytus. Thus, the compiling of the *Syro-Roman Lawbook* suggests Syriac readers who had need of the law in their own language (perhaps certain law students in Berytus). Increasingly, there was a demand for ecclesiastical histories and saints' lives in Syriac versions. The 'elevated' status of Phoenician identity, especially in the setting of Berytus, may have served to improve the status of the language which Phoenicians, as well as Syrians used, in Late Antiquity. Although the idea of 'Phoenician' identity was revived for purposes of imperial propaganda by the Severan dynasty, the definition, once in place, remained entrenched through the sixth century, as the literary, geographical, and legal evidence shows.

The citizens of Berytus were not in consonance with the citizens of all other Phoenician cities, however. The tradition of competition with Tyre appears constant, even from the time of the first-century founding of the colony through the fifth-century religious conflict of Eustathius and Photius. On the other hand, there is evidence of a sense of community between the people of Berytus and of Heliopolis due to the shared colonial beginning, a pagan joint worship, and other cultural and economic links based on geographical location.

The 'tension' among Tyre, Berytus, and Heliopolis may have been caused in part by the persistence of paganism in the latter two cities. One might think of a continuum with Tyre as the most Christianized city of the three and Heliopolis as the strongest adherent of paganism. There is clear evidence from the narratives of the lives of Severus, Matrona, and Rabulas that paganism lasted well into the beginning of the sixth century in both the city of Berytus and its surrounding countryside.

Social mobility appears quite possible from an examination of the situation of the artisans and law students of Berytus. The astonishing claim by Libanius that the sons of 'workers' [artisans] went to the law schools with the clear intention of improving their prospects for advancement economically and socially seems borne out by various accounts in which just such an education did indeed move the person forward in the government. Furthermore, a close study of the evidence pertaining to artisans of the trades attested in Berytus seems to support the idea that it was possible to acquire a degree of wealth, if not status, in artisanal (and mercantile) pursuits.

The administration of the city evidently evolved from a traditional curial aristocracy to a meritocracy led by the bishop, the governor or his 'bureau,' and the law professors. The common threads linking these individuals seem to be salaries or appointments from the imperial government and advancement through education. In the time of the Severan dynasty, some of the jurisconsults were related to the imperial family. In the framing of the legal codes of Theodosius and of Justinian, the jurisconsults were entrusted with the task of making God's will for humanity clear through the shaping of the laws. The importance of their mission appears to have conferred a very high status upon legal training.

In a city such as Berytus, individuals formed a personal identity based on such multi-variable factors as their economic, social, ethnic, and religious affiliations. Although each person had an identity which consisted of multiple facets, it seems that some shared conclusions can be drawn about the construction of identity for and by Berytians in Late Antiquity.

First, literacy was esteemed by many visitors to the city and surely by the residents of the city who taught or studied in the schools. Perhaps the presence of the schools encouraged non-elite young people to aspire to an education that they would not have sought if they had lived elsewhere. Repeatedly, the narrators of biographies of persons linked to Berytus emphasized excellent command of language, rhetoric, philosophy, and sometimes theological intricacies. Whether or not any one story is 'true' is not relevant because the consistent cultural value is clear. The evidence for leadership and advancement for the lawyers confirms this impression. Furthermore, the inscription for a female scribe, the *kalligraphissa,* suggests that education and related employment were available to at least a few women. The city's reputation as the 'mother of laws' indicates that the nurturing of minds was considered important, and that intellectual prowess was esteemed in Berytus.

Second, although religious competitiveness was valued, the atmosphere of the city seems to have been less contentious than that of other places. The emphasis on being an apostolic foundation (martyrion of St Judas), gaining the status of ecclesiastical *metropolis* in competition with Tyre, the conflict between the *philoponoi* and their adversaries, and the desire to convert pagans in the countryside through the efforts of the monastic 'missionaries' reflect an emphasis on 'contending for the faith.' Yet it does not appear that Berytus was a scene of the level of violence that shook cities such as Alexandria, Antioch, Gaza, Constantinople, or Heliopolis. In short, the populace was apparently less volatile, more open to 'reason,' and more swayed by displays of 'repentance' than were some residents of other communities of the Greek East.

Third, Berytus was a city that valued its 'multi-cultural' confluence. The historic emphasis on 'Phoenician' identity was, of course, a feature of life in the other cities like Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos which could have fostered regionalism. Yet the continuous, profitable mercantile interaction with Emesa, Edessa, Alexandria, and other cities favored a positive view of cultural interchange. Romanus the 'melode' may be the perfect example of this phenomenon. Coming under the influence of Ephrem of Edessa where Syriac literature reached its highest development in a 'heartland' setting, Romanus was influenced by the Syriac hymnography. Then he migrated to Berytus where he served as a deacon, possibly composed hymns in Greek, and witnessed the impact of Latin in the schools. From Berytus he moved to Constantinople and became famous for the Greek hymns that he wrote in Syrian style. It is likely that it was in Berytus that Romanus found initial acceptance for drawing on his Semitic background for his music.

Berytus, like many a university city, may have supported changed outlooks long enough for them to flourish when transferred to a new setting. Without being a strong government administrative center, Berytus may have furnished the tolerant atmosphere that permitted non-conformity in Christian theology, the persistence of pagan practice, the development of stronger ethnic identification, and even new roles for religious and artisan women. Certainly, many of the individuals whose lives we have looked at either by the brief glimpse of an inscription or the longer narrative of a biography seem to express consistent independence of thought and identity.

The transference of the law schools and the silk industry to Constantinople did much to deprive the coastal area of an intellectual center, supported by mercantile wealth, which might have provided a counter-balance to the strength of the Monophysite movement which drew Syria away from the central government. When the legal scholars and the silk merchants no longer dominated the life of the city, Berytus seems to have lost its influence as a major force in the affairs of the province of Phoenicia and the ties to the 'Roman' empire became more tenuous. There is evidence, even through the early sixth century, that the administration, both ecclesiastical and administrative, supported the government, especially the emperor. The loss of political and economic power in Berytus

after the mid sixth century may be more significant in the final 'surrender' to the Islamic invaders within a century than a supposed theological solidarity with the Monophysite movement.

Berytus functioned as an 'outpost of empire' by its inculcation of Roman law and Latin language. The diminution of her role, for whatever reasons, contributed to a shrinkage of the Roman Empire northward and westward. The loss of Latin, mourned by John Lydus in an essay generally regarded as of only academic interest, facilitated the cutting of ties to the West, especially to North Africa and Italy. Justinian's efforts to reclaim the entire empire militarily might have been better expended on the maintenance of linguistic, religious, and legal ties with the West. It has been noted that Justinian cut state support for teachers everywhere in order to fund the army. As Keith Hopkins and others have recently pointed out, 'conquest by book' in a shared language ultimately has the greater effect historically. The phenomenon of Berytus during the centuries in question, and its modification later in the period, do much to confirm this point of view.

APPENDIX I
Province of Syria

Political and military leaders from 64 BC-193 AD
[*=Syrian entries based on Dabrowa (1998)]

Emperors (Eastern Empire) and regional rulers		*Provincial governors and generals*
M. Antonius and Cleopatra		
Augustus 29 BC to 14 AD [Herod the Great, *c.* 73–4 BC]		
Aug. transferred areas of Trachonitis, Batanaea, Auranitis from Zenodoros to Herod the Great in 24 BC; Strabo 16.2.20 (756); Josephus AJ 15.343–5; BJ 1.398–9	*c.* 25–23 BC	(L. LICINIUS) VARRO (MURENA); Josephus, BJ 1.398. AJ 15.344–5); first known legate of Syria, *17–18
[Herod the Great]	*c.* 13–*c.*10 BC	M. TITIUS L. f. (cos. suff. a. 31); Josephus AJ 16.270; Strabo 16.1.28; *18–20
[S. held presidency of tribunal by Herod against his sons; Josephus, AJ 16.368–9; S. visited Berytus]	c. 10–8/7 BC	C. SENTIUS C. f. C. n. SATURNINUS (cos. a. 19); Josephus AJ 16.280, AJ 17.6; *20–22
[co-chaired w. Herod the court against H's son Antipater in 5 BC, restored order in Judaea after Herod's death in 4 BC]	7–*c.* 4 BC	P. QUINCTILIUS Sex.f. VARUS (cos. a 13); Nicolaus of Damascus= FGrH IIA, no. 90, F 136.6; Josephus AJ 17.89, 17.250; Tac. Hist. 5.9.2, Vell. Pat. 2.117.2; BMC Phoenicia, 59, nos. 55–6; RPC, 650, no. 4535 (Berytus) IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS/ P. QVINCTLLLVS (sic) VVRVS (sic); *22–24

	c. 4–1 BC	L. CALPURNIUS PISO PONTIFEX (cos.a. 15a); AE 1920.71; CIL 14.3613=ILS 918); *24–26
[Aug. dethroned and banished K. Archelaos of Judaea; Judaea became part of Syria]	4–6 AD	L. VOLUSIUS Q. f. SATURNINUS (cos. suff. a.12); BMC Galatia, 159, nos. 60–1; *26–27
	6/7 AD	P. SULPICIUS P. f. QUIRINIUS (cos. a. 12); Luke 2:1–2; Josephus AJ 17.355, AJ 18.1–2; CIL 3.6687=ILS 2683 from Berytus(?); Cumont JRS 24 (1934) 187ff; Tacitus Ann. 3.48.1–2; *27–30
	(?)11–17 AD	Q. CAECILIUS Q. f. M. n. METELLUS CRETICUS SILANUS (cos. a. 7); Josephus AJ 18.52; Tacitus, Ann. 2.4.3, 2.43.2; BMC Galatia; Syria 20 (1939), 61, no.2=AE 1939.179=IGLS 5.2550 (near Palmyra); *30–32
Tiberius 14–37 (Tiberius Claudius Nero)	(?)11–17 AD	Q. CAECILIUS Q. f. M. n. METELLUS CRETICUS SILANUS (cos. a. 7); removed due to connection w. Germanicus; see above
	17–19	CN. CALPURNIUS Cn. f. PISO (cos. a. 7); Tacitus, Ann. 2.43.2; Suetonius, Tib. 52.6, Calig. 2; *32–34; removed by Germanicus; suicide, 20 AD.; *32–34
	19–21 (23?)	CN. SENTIUS C. f. SATURNINUS (cos. suff. a. 4); Tacitus, Ann. 2.74.1; CIL 3.6703 IGLS 1.164; *34–35
governed through prolegates while in Rome; PACUVIUS legate of leg. VI Ferrata in charge	(?)23–32	L. AELIUS L. f. L. n. LAMIA (cos.a. 3); Tacitus, Ann. 6.27.2; Dio 58.19.5; Seneca, Epp. 12.89, Tacitus, Ann. 2.79.3; *35–37

Emperors (Eastern Empire) and regional rulers		*Provincial governors and generals*
[reference to Agrippa, son of Aristobulos, grandson of Herod the Great]	32–33	L. POMPONIUS L. f. FLACCUS (cos. a. 17); BMC Galatia; Suetonius Tib. 42.1; Josephus AJ 18.150; Tacitus, Ann. 6.27.3, died, probably legate of legion governed awhile; *37–38
[removed Pontius Pilate from post as prefect of Judaea; Herod Antipas tetrarch]	35–39	L. VITELLIUS P. f. (cos. a. 34; ord. II.a. 43; ord. III a. 47); Pliny HN, 15.83; Suetonius, Vit. 2.6; Josephus AJ 15.405, 18.261; *38–41
Caligula 37–41 (Gaius Caesar Germanicus [Caligula])	35–39	L. VITELLIUS P. f., see above
[Agrippa king of Judaea, under legate of Syria, from 41; Caligula wanted statue of self in temple; Philo and Josephus]	39–42	P. PETRONIUS P. f. (cos. suff. a. 19); Josephus AJ 18.261; AA 1968, 477 coin *42–43
Claudius 41–54 (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus)	39–42	P. PETRONIUS P. f., see above
[Agrippa I died, Agrippa II; Marsus removed to please them]	42–44	C. VIBIUS C. f. MARSUS (cos. suff. a. 17); Josephus AJ 19.316, 20.1; *44–46
[Agrippa I died in 44, Judaea under an imperial procurator, supervised by gov. of Syria]	44–*c*. 51	C. CASSIUS L. f. LONGINUS (cos. suff. a. 30); Josephus AJ 20.1, 15.406; Tacitus, Ann. 12.11.3; coins; lasting fame as a jurist, Tacitus, Ann. 12.12.1; Dig. 1.2.2.51–3, 7.170.; Pliny Epp. 7.24.8; *46–49
held court in Tyre in 52	51–60	C. UMMIDIUS C. f. Ter. DURMIUS QUADRATUS (cos. suff. c. 40); CIL 10.5182, 5180; Tacitus, Ann. 12.45.6, 12.54.5,13.8.2; 14.26.4; Josephus AJ 20.125; BJ 2.239; coins; AE 1907.194; *49–53
Nero 54–68 (Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus) [Nero appointed P. ANTEIUS RUFUS as his successor in 55 but he never served; milestone, Berytus, 56, for construction work on one of main roads of province running near Medit. Sea and connecting Antioch-on-the-Orontes with Ptolemais (AE 1907.194)]	51–60	C. UMMIDIUS C. f. Ter. DURMIUS QUADRATUS, see above

Corbulo was appointed earlier to command the army in Syria; fortified Syian border; tax law of Palmyra	60–63	CN. DOMITIUS Cn. f. CORBULO (cos. suff. a. 39); CIL 9.3426; Tacitus, Ann. 14.26.2; OGIS 629, ll.166–8=IGR 3.1056, 4 ll. 54–7; *53–56
[procurator GESSIUS FLORUS in Judaea; uprising at Masada; leg. XII Fulminata lost its eagle; Gallus sent Jews to Nero]	63–67	C. CESTIUS GALLUS (cos. suff. a. 42); Tacitus, Ann. 15.25.3, Hist. 5.10.1–2; Josephus BJ 2.280, Vita 30, 347, 373; coins; *56–57
[Nero sent Vespasian to command troops in Judaea, 67]	69–70	C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS (cos. suff. c. 64; suff. II a. 70); Josephus BJ 4.32; Tacitus Hist. 1.10.1; OGIS 629, ll. 123–4=IGR3.1056,4, ll.10–1; coins; *58–60
Galba 68–69 (Servius Sulpicius Galba) Otho 69 (M. Salvius Otho) Vitellius 69 (Aulus Vitellius) Mucianus opposed Vitellius	69–70	C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS, see above
Vespasian 69–79 (T. Flavius Vespasianus) Mucianus was sent to Rome with troops to secure V's coup	69–70	C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS, see above
[fought against Antiochus IV, king of Commagene in 72 AD, and Commagene was annexed to Syria]	70–73	L. IUNIUS CAESENNIUS PAETUS (cos. a.61); Josephus BJ 7.58–9, 220–1; AE 1907.193 (milestone near Beirut): Imp[era]/[tor] Ca[e]s(ar) Vespa/[sia]nus Aug(ustus) pon(ifex)/ [max](imus), t[r](ibunicia) po[t]est(ate) III, p(ater)/ [p(atriae)], co(n)s(ul) IIII/[cur(ante) L(ucio) C]aesennio/ [Paeto] leg(ato)Aug(usti) pro/[p]r(aetore) CCXXXIIII (1 January–1 July, 72 AD); *60–62
	73	A. MARIUS CELSUS (cos. suff. a. 69); AE 1903.256=ILS 8903=IGLS 1.66); *62–64
	73–78	M. ULPIUS TRAIANUS (cos suff. a. 70); father of the emperor Trajan; ILS 8970; Syria 62 (1985), 79, no. A=SEG 35.1483a=AE 1986.694; Syria 13 (1932), 276–7, no. 2=AE 1933.205; AE 1983.927; AE 1974.653; coins; [Trajan served as military tribune under his father in a Syrian legion, Pliny Paneg. 9.4–5, 14.1, 89.2], *64–68
	(?)78–82(?)	L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS (cos. a. 78); IGR 3.1356; coins; *68–69

Emperors (Eastern Empire) and regional rulers		*Provincial governors and generals*
Titus 79–81 (Titus Flavius Vespasianus)	(?)78–82(?)	L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS, see above
Domitian 81–96 (T. Flavius Domitianus)	(?)78–82(?)	L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS, see above
	82–84	T. ATILIUS RUFUS (cos. suff. a inc.); AE 1925.95; Tacitus, Agric. 40.1. *69–70
	(?)87–90	P. VALERIUS PATRUINUS (cos. suff. a. 82); CIL 16.35; *70–71
	90–93(?)	A. BUCIUS LAPPIUS MAXIMUS (cos.suff.a. 86; suff. II a. 95); AE 1973.588=AE 1977.827, AE 1961.319; *71–73
he was one of most eminent lawyers of his time and member of Trajan's consilium	(?)93–96(?)	C. OCTAVIUS TIDIUS TOSSIANUS L. IAVOLENUS PRISCUS (cos. suff. a. 86); CIL 3.2864; Dig. 40.2.5; 1.2.2.53, Pliny Epp. 6.15.3; *73–74
	(?)96–97	M. CORNELIUS M. f. Gal. NIGRINUS CURIATIUS MATERNUS (cos. suff.a. 83); CIL 2.3783, 6013, 3788; *75–78
Nerva 96–98 (M. Cocceius Nerva)	97/98	A. LARCIUS A. f. Quir. PRISCUS (cos.suff.a.110), *pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae*; he was also commander of leg. IV Scythica, AE 1908.237; CIL 8.17891=ILS 1055; *78–79
Trajan 98–117 (M. Ulpius Traianus)	(?)100–104	C. ANTIUS AULUS IULIUS A. f. Vol. QUADRATUS (cos. suff.a. 94; ord. II a. 105); IGR 4.384; Syria 20 (1939), 53=AE 1939.178; AE 1918.130=IGLS 7.4010; *79–81
[annexed the Nabataean state as province of Arabia at behest of Trajan in 106]	104–108	A. CORNELIUS PALMA FRONTONIANUS (cos. a. 99; ord.II a.109); Dio 68.14.5; Wadd. 2296+2297; Ktema (1992) 17, 139; CIL 6.1386=ILS 1023; *81–83
	108–112(?)	L. FABIUS IUSTUS (cos. suff. a. 102); AE 1940.210; AAS 10 (1960), 161; ZPE 60 (1985) 114, no. 17=AE 1987.952, milestones, etc.; *83–85
	114–117	C. IULIUS QUADRATUS BASSUS (cos. suff. a. 105); AE 1976.677; AE 1933.201=AE 1934.176; CIL 3.14387d+w=IGLS 6.2775a+b; *85–88

[Trajan was leaving Syria after war with the Parthians at turn of July and August of 117 when he was gov. of Syria]	117	P. AELIUS P.f. Ser.HADRIANUS (cos. suff. a. 108); Dio 68.33.1, 69.2.1, HA Hadrian 4.6, before he was made emperor; *89–90
Hadrian 117–138 (P. Aelius Hadrianus)	117–119	L. CATILIUS Cn.f. Clu. SEVERUS IULIANUS CLAUDIUS REGINUS (cos. suff.a. 110; ord. II a. 120); HA Hadrian 5.9–10; CIL 10.8291=ILS 1041; *90–92
	119–131	Unknown, *92
[Played an important role in suppression of Bar Kokhba revolt in Judaea in 132–135]	131–135	C. QUINCTIUS C.f. Vel. CERTUS POBLICIUS MARCELLUS (cos. suff. a. 120); SEG 15.849; CRAI (1930) 183=Syria 12 (1931), 106, no. A=AE 1931.54=SEG 7.135; AE 1934.231, inscriptions from Palmyra; *92–94
	135–*c.* 136	CN. MINICIUS FAUSTINUS SEX. IULIUS SEVERUS (cos. suff. a. 127); CIL 3.2850; *94–96
	c. 136–140	SEX. IULIUS MAIOR (cos. suff. a. 126?); Syria 18 (1937), 369=AE 1938.137=Syria 22 (1941), 255–6; IG IV, 1^2, 454; *97–100
Antoninus Pius 138–161 (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus)	*c.* 136–140	SEX. IULIUS MAIOR, see above
	140	L. BURBULEIUS L. f. Quir. OPTATUS LIGARIANUS (cos. suff. *c.* 135); CIL 10.6006; *100–103
	c. 147–*c.* 150	SULPICIUS IULIANUS (cos. a. inc.); BCH 26 (1902), 165, no. 5=AE 1903.252=ILS 9115=IGLS 3. 1135; Wadd. 1836=CIL3. 189=BJ 185 (1985), 84–85' Wadd. 2306=IGR 3.1274; *103–104
	150–154	M. PONTIUS M. f. Pup. LAELIANUS LARCIUS SABINUS (cos. suff. a. 144); Syria 20 (1939), 61, no. 2=AE 1939.179=IGLS 5.2550; CIL 6. 41146 (=1497+1549)=ILS 1094+1100; *104–106
	154–157	M. CASSIUS APOLLINARIS (cos. suff. a. 150); AE 1909.115 (Byblos); *106–7
	157–162	L. ATTIDIUS CORNELIANUS (cos. suff. a 151); ILS 9057=CIL 16.106; CIL 3.129 (=6658); HA Marcus 8.6; *107–108

Emperors (Eastern Empire) and regional rulers		*Provincial governors and generals*
Marcus Aurelius 161–180 (Marcus Aelius Aurelius Verus); Lucius Verus 161–169, assoc. emperor w. M. Aurelius	157–162	L. ATTIDIUS CORNELIANUS, see above
[sent by M.A. to govern Syria which was neglected by Verus; death may have been caused by Verus]	163/164	M. ANNIUS M. f. Gal. LIBO (cos. suff.a. 161); HA Verus 9.2; *109–110
	c. 164–*c.* 166	CN. IULIUS Cn. f. VERUS (cos. suff. c. 151; II des. a. 179); CIL 3. 199=ILS 5864; CIL 3.2732+8774=ILS 1057+8974; *110–112
[OCD3, p. 226, Avidius Cassius declared himself emperor in East on false report of M. Aurelius' death for three months; murdered by a centurion]	166–175	C. AVIDIUS CASSIUS (cos. suff. a. 166); HA Avidius Cassius, 5.4–7; Dio(-Xiphilinus) 71.3.1; Philostratus Vit. soph. 2.1.13; Dunand Musee, 96, no 197=AE 1936.153; Wadd. 2525=IGR 3. 1113; Wadd. 2528=IGR 3.1114; Wadd. 2237=IGR 3.1270; Wadd. 2438=IGR 3. 1179; PAES A, 2, 91, no.155=AE 1911.242; Wadd. 2331=IGR 3.1226; Prentice, no. 381; Syria 17(1936) 277, no. 20=AE 1937.167; Wadd.2212= IGR 3.1261; AE 1930.140; AE 1909.131=PAES A, 5, 305, no. 666; *112–117
[he remained loyal to M. Aurelius and had Avidius Cassius killed]	175–178	P. MARTIUS VERUS (cos. suff. a. 166; ord. II a. 179); Dio 71.29.2; AE 1895.159=IGR 3.1290; Wadd. 2071=IGR 3.1195; *117–119
[son of a freedman; important protectors and great ability; multiple governorships and military appointments]	179–182	P. HELVIUS PERTINAX (cos. suff. a. 175; ord. II a. 192); HA Pertinax 2.11; BCH 21 (1897), 62, no. 70=IGR 3.1096a; *119–121
Commodus 180–192 (L. Aurelius Commodus)	179–182	P. HELVIUS PERTINAX, see above
[Septimius Severus was legate leg. IV Scythica in Syria during this period; SS honored him in his reign]	183–185	C. DOMITIUS DEXTER (cos. suff. a. inc.; ord II a. 196); Syria 14 (1933) 164, no. 8=AE 1933.214; Wadd. 2308=IGR 3.1276; *122–123

	186–187	C. IULIUS SATURNINUS (cos. suff. a. inc.); JRS 68 (1978) 68, note 332=AE 1978.818; AE 1930.141a.; CIG 4617=Wadd. 2309=IGR 3.1277; CIG 4618b=Wadd. 2309a; Wadd.2524=IGR 3.1119; IGR 3.1230; *123–125
[as a supporter of Niger, he suffered damnation memoriae; killed by SS' soldiers in 194]	(?)187–190(?)	ASELLIUS AEMILIANUS (cos. suff. c. 180); Herodian 3.2.3; Wadd. 2213=IGR 3.1262; *125–127
[Niger legate of Syria until declared emperor by soldiers in Antioch; killed after a year's reign in 194]	*c.* 190–193	C. PESCENNIUS NIGER (cos. suff. a. inc.); Dio 75.6.1; Herodian 2.7.4; 3.2.3; *127–128
Pertinax 193 [Jan.2–Mar.28] (P. Helvidius Pertinax)		C. PESCENNIUS NIGER, see above
M. Didius Julianus 193		C. PESCENNIUS NIGER, see above
G. Pescennius Niger 193–194		
Clodius Albinus 193–197 (Decimus Clodius Niger)		

APPENDIX II
Province of Phoenicia (193–565 AD)

Political, military, and religious leaders in Berytus

*=information from Libanius;
+=information based on PLRE

Emperors (Eastern Empire)	*Governors*	*Military leaders D = dux*	*Religious leaders*
[Consult Appendix I]			Quartus, Bishop, first century AD
Septimius Severus 193–211 (Lucius Septimius Severus); Julia Domna (inscriptions)			
Caracalla 211–217 (M. Aurelius Antoninus); Geta 211–212 (P. Septimius Geta)			
Macrinus 217–218 (M. Opellius Macrinus)			
Elegabalus 218–222 (M. Aurelius Antoninus)			
Severus Alexander 222–235 (M. Aurelius Severus Alexander)			
Maximinus 235–238 (G. Julius Verus Maximinus)			
Gordian III 238–244 (M. Antonius Gordianus)			
Philip 244–249 (M. Junius Philippus)			

Emperors (Eastern Empire)	*Governors*	*Military leaders D = dux*	*Religious leaders*
Trajan Decius 249–251 (G. Messius Quintus Tranjanus Decius)			
Trebonianus Gallus 251–253 (G. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus)			
Valerian 252–260 (G. Vibius Valerianus)			
Gallienus 253–268 (P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus)			
Claudius II Gothicus 268–270 (M. Aurelius Claudius II)			
Aurelian 270–275 (L. Domitius Aurelianus)			
Tacitus 275–276 (M. Claudius Tacitus)			
Probus 276–282 (M. Aurelius Probus)			
Carus 282–283 (M. Aurelius Carus)			

Numerian 283–284 (M. Aurelius Numerius Numerianus)					
Carinus 283–285 (M. Aurelius Carinus)					
Diocletian 284–305 (G. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus)	292 Feb. 26–293 Aug. 28	CRISPINUS 2, *praeses Phoenices* CJ 7.35.4, CJ 9.2.11; 1.23.3; 9.25			
	293–303	SOSSIANUS HIEROCLES 4, *v.p., praeses (?)Phoenices Libanensis* inscr. and Lact. DMP16.4			
Galerius 305–311 (C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus)	(?)309–313	MAXIMUS 6, *praeses Phoenices*; ...*ci Maximo...praeside Phoenice, Berytus* 9 (1948), p. 122, milestone between Tyre and Sidon			
Licinius 308–324 (C. Valerius Licinianus Licinius)			311–312	Anonymous 71, *dux* in Phoenice	Eusebius of Nicomedia, bishop of Berytus before 318
	?323	ACHILLIUS I, *praeses Phoenices*; *PRyl* 4.623–639			

Emperors (Eastern Empire)		*Governors*		*Military leaders D = dux*	*Religious leaders*
Constantine I 324–337	328 Oct. 21–329 March 14	FL. DIONYSIUS II, CT 9.34.4, 8.18.4; CJ 6.9.8. refs to Tyre and Heliopolis; Athan. c. Ar. 78, 79. Archelaus, *consularis (Phoenices)* 335 *hypatikos* Soc. 1.29.2 discovered bishop Arsenius in hiding			Gregorius, Arian bishop, 325
			?4th century	SILVINUS, *?comes et dux Phoenices*	
Constantine II 337–340 (Flavius Claudius Constantinus); Constans 337–350 (Flavius Magnus Constans); Constantius II 337–361 (Flavius Julius Constantius II)	342 Jan. 23	MARCELLINUS 6, *praeses Phoenices*; CJ 2.57.1; maybe also CT 12.2.1, 15.1.6, 349 Oct. 3			
	344–350	FL. DOMITIANUS LEONTIUS 20 *PPO Orientis*, 340–344, *consul* 344, inscr. 344–350; ordo of B, Constantius & Constans, inscr.			

353–354	APOLLINARIS I; *rector provinciae* at Tyre, father of A.2, arrested by Gallus for treason, Amm.14.7.20; he and son were exiled and then murdered, Amm. 14.9.8		
		before 354	SERENIANUS 2*
before 358	*DEMETRIUS II, [Lib. *Ep.* 234 (359), 24 (358)]		
357 or 359–360	*EUCHROSTIUS, ?G. [Lib. *Ep.* 118]		
Before 360	*JULIANUS 11, [Lib. *Ep.* 223]		
360–361	*ANDRONICUS 3, G.		
before 361	AELIUS CLAUDIUS DULCITIUS 5		
361	SIDERIUS, G. of Syria or Phoenice		

Emperors (Eastern Empire)		Governors		Military leaders D = *dux*	Religious leaders
Julian 361–363 (Flavius Claudius Julianus)	361	*ANATOLIUS 4; sons *Apolinarius 2, and *Gemellus who went to Ph. with father; Gemellus PVC 404–8	361–366	VADOMARIUS, *dux Phoenices*	
	361–362	*POLYCLES, G. [first appt by Julian as sole emperor Lib. *Or.* 37.12; dismissed for incompetence. Lib *Or.* 37 defends Julian to Polycles; Lib. *Epp*]			
	362 Sept. 3	JULIANUS 15, *cons. Phoenices*; CT 12.1.52; [Lib. *Epp.*740, 1296; proficient in Greek, Latin and law, *Epp.* 668, 1296]			
	362–363	*GAIANUS 6, G. at Tyre [Lib. *Epp.* 780, 799, 800, 1218, 828, 1355, 1364, etc.]			

Jovian 363–364 (Flavius Jovianus)	363–364	*MARIUS I [Lib. *Ep.* 1135, 1217, 1269]	after 363	MAURUS, *dux Phoenices*	Vindaonius Magnus 12, son of Magnus 4, rhetor and barrister in Ph. in 364, Jovian made him rebuild the church he burned under Julian; *PVC* 375–6
Valens 364–378 (Flavius Valens); (Procopius) 365	364	*ULPIANUS 3 [Lib. *Ep.* many]			
	364–365	*DOMNINUS 2, [Lib. *Ep.* 1145, etc.]			
	372 June 30	LEONTIUS 12, *cons. Phoenices* [CT 13.1.9]			
Theodosius 379–395 (Flavius Thedosius)	380 May 14	PETRUS 2, *cons. Phoenices; scripta Petro consulari Phoenices Damasco* [CT 7.22.9, 12.1.83]			
					381, Timotheus Berytius, *de provincia Phoenices*, bishop, signed as a witness at 1st Council of Constantinople; follower of Apollinaris (Lequien, 818)
	382–383	*PROCULUS 6; Lib. Or. 42.41–2, and inscr.; *Comes Orientis* 383–4; *PVC* 388–392, son of Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus 5; executed			

Emperors (Eastern Empire)		*Governors*	*Military leaders D = dux*	*Religious leaders*
	before 388	*EUSTATHIUS 6, ?G. [Lib. *Or.* 54.4]		
	388	*ANTHERIUS, ?G. [Lib. *Ep.* 881]		
	388	*EPIPHANIUS 2 [*archon* passed through Antioch to his province, Lib. asked him to help the Phoenician Sidonius Lib. *Ep.* 913; cf. Lib. *Ep.* 1046]		
	390	*DOMITIUS 2 [had power to resolve complaints at Tyre, Lib. *Ep.* 968]		
	391	*SEVERIANUS 7, [Lib. *Epp.* 998, 999]		
	392	*LEONTIUS 14 [*archon*, his province included Sidon. Lib. *Ep.* 1046]		

	?	*CELSINUS 3, ?vicar of a province. lived in B after marrying daughter of Julianus 20; J 20 native of B; held several posts; maybe a lawyer			
Arcadius 395–408					
Theodosius II 408–450			early-mid 5th century in Phoenice	Antiochus 9, milit. leader	Eustathius, bishop 448
Marcian 450–457			453	Maximinus 11, *?comes rei militaris* in Pheonice	Eustathius, bishop of the *polis* of Berytus, 451–?460 (church dedicated)
Leo I 457– 474		E's bro. Auxonius, 'an interpreter of the law,' ?460. *V.Mat.* mother of ex-prefect Elias, mothor of the *scholastikoi*, empress Euphemia, Antiochiane, wife of Sphorakios	?461	Zenodorus 2 (?), milit. leader in Phoenice	Matrona, born *c.* 430, supported Chalcedon in 451, in Bassianus's monastery maybe from 450; 452–3 superior of monastery of Hilara in Emesa; *floruit* in 460 with miracles; returned to CP in 472–4; priest, deacon, deaconess in Berytus in her story
Leo II 474					
Zeno 474–491 (Basiliscus 475–476) (Fl. Marcian 479) (Ilus and Leontius 484)	486?	*defensor ekdikos* of the city Leontius, law professor			Bishop John; Severus, student, 486, b. 465; Zacharias of Mytilene Rabulas Samosatensis (*Menol. Graec. die 19 Febr.*)

(*Eastern Empire*)				*D* = *dux*	
Anastasius I 491–518	?514	DADI YANOUS (?TATIANUS)	512–518	Asiaticus, milit. leader in Phoenice	Marinus, pro-monophysite bishop (Evagrius *HE* 3.33) [Matrona (in old age in CP) opposed monophysite policy of Anastasius; died *c.* 510–515]
Justin I 518–527					
Justinian I 527–565			528	Dionysius 1, D in 528; sent to pursue the Persians. Joh. Mal. 435; Theoph. AM 6021. Proclianus, D in 528; died in defeat of the Romans by the Persians, Joh. Mal. 441–2; Proc. BP 113.5–7; Zach. HE 9.2. Buzes. D at Palmyra. Cutzes, D. at Damascus. Proc. BP 113.5; Joh. Mal. 441	Thalassius, bishop of the *metropolis* of Berytus, 536 (signed a letter ag. Severus)

533	*vir clarissimus*, governor & bishop of the *civitas* & the professors of law. [533 AD, *Digest Constitutio Omnis* 9–10]		
		535–536?	+ arrangements in Edict IV. Date?
		540	+ Theoctistus, *Dux* of Phoenice Libanensis at Damscus or Palmyra. With Molatzes, defended Antioch ag P in 540. Proc. BP 2.8.2,17–20. See Theoctistus 2, PRLE III, 1226–7, details

APPENDIX III
Lawyers, law professors, and law students in Phoenicia

* = information from Libanius;
+= PLRE entry

Emperors (Eastern Empire)	*Lawyers/professors*	*Law students*
Augustus, 29 BC–14 AD		
Claudius 41–54 (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus); enjoyed acting as a judge	Key governor=C. CASSIUS L. f. LONGINUS (cos. suff. a. 30), 44–*c*. 51; Josephus AJ 20.1, 15.406; Tacitus, Ann. 12.11.3; coins; lasting fame as JURIST, Tacitus, Ann. 12.12.1; Dig. 1.2.2.51–3, 7.170.; Pliny Epp. 7.24.8;(Appendix 1)	
FLAVIANS Vespasian 69–79 (T. Flavius Vespasianus); Titus 79–81 (Titus Flavius Vespasianus); Domitian 81–96 (T. Flavius Domitianus); key govs=M. ULPIUS TRAIANUS, 73–78 [father of the emperor Trajan], [Trajan served as military tribune under his father in a Syrian legion, Pliny Paneg. 9.4–5, 14.1, 89.2], Appendix I	M. VALERIUS PROBUS, first-century expert on Vergil, Plautus, Terence, and Sallust; Suetonius, *Gramm.* 24; OCD3, 1580–1	
	C. OCTAVIUS TIDIUS TOSSIANUS L. IAVOLENUS PRISCUS (cos. suff. a. 86), ?93–96?; CIL 3.2864; Dig. 40.2.5, he was an eminent LAWYER and member of Trajan's consilium, Dig. 1.2.2.53, Pliny Epp. 6.15.3, Appendix I	

Antoninus Pius 138–161 (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus)	GAIUS [lecturing in 160/1 and alive in 178; *Institutes*, 2nd century but manuscript 5th century Verona; taught by Masurius Sabinus and C. Cassius Longinus in Rome; perhaps he taught in Berytus; OCD3, 620]	
Marcus Aurelius 161–180 (Marcus Aelius Aurelius Verus); Lucius Verus 161–169, assoc. emperor w. M. Aurelius	GAIUS [lecturing in 160/1 and alive in 178; OCD3, 620]; ULPIUS (4) MARCELLUS, taught in Rome, member of *consilium* of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius; wrote *De officio consulis*, *Responsa*, & 31 of *Digesta*; annotated by Ulpian; 120 passages in Cod. Just.; OCD3, 1570	
Septimius Severus 193–211	DOMITIUS (88) ULPIANUS, from Tyre; drafted rescripts for SS, the most influential of all Roman lawyers, active until 223, OCD3, 493; AEMILIUS (105) PAPINIANUS, ranked in top five by Law of Citations in 426, OCD3, 21; Scaevola (date?)	
Caracalla 211–217 (Geta 211–212)	DOMITIUS (88) ULPIANUS; AEMILIUS (105) PAPINIANUS, executed in 212	
Macrinas 217–218	DOMITIUS (88) ULPIANUS	
Elegabalus 218–222	DOMITIUS (88) ULPIANUS	
Severus Alexander 222–235	DOMITIUS (88) ULPIANUS, killed by the emperor's troops in 223	Gregory Thaumaturgus from Neocaesarea, Pontus, 230s
Maximinus 235–238		
Gordian III 238–244		
Philip 244–249		
Trajan Decius 249–251		
Trebonianus Gallus 251–253		

Emperors (Eastern Empire)	*Lawyers/professors*	*Law students*
Valerian 252–260		
Gallienus 253–268	LUPERCUS I, *Grammaticus* of B., shortly before the reign of Claudius II (PLRE I); see Paton, *Class. Rev.* 26 (1912) 9. Quoted by Planudes and Suidas	
Claudius II Gothicus 268–270		
Aurelian 270–275		
Tacitus 275–276		
Probus 276–282		
Carus 282–283		
Diocletian 284–305		Severinus and other *scholastici* of Arabia (CJ10.50.1)
Galerius 305–311		Appian and Aedesius from Paga, Lycia (Euseb., Martyrs 4.3,5). Ap studied law and Ae studied philosophy. Converted while in Berytus. Both were martyred, Ap in Caesarea and Ae in Alexandria
Licinius 308–324		
Constantine I 324–337	Vinda[o]nius Anatolius, author of the *Geoponica*, 4th –5th century	Arcadius and John, from CP, to study law in B; already had studied Greek, philosophy and rhetoric *Vita Sancti Zenophontis*
Constantius II 337–361	Apollinaris of Alexandria, (310–390), ?340, teacher in B; skilled in Greek poetry, etc.; Soc. HE 2.46, 3.16; Soz. HE 5.18.3–4, 6.25.4–5 *Domninus, teacher, 354, 359, 360 *Helladius, 353–4 *Marcian, 355–6	+Triphyllius of Cyprus who studied law as a young man in B, well before 348. Soz. HE. *Anatolius 3 (PLRE 1), native of B; studied in Rome; prefect of Illyricum under Julian (Eunap. V.S.490: Amm. 19.11.2; Himerius, Eclogue 32; Lib. Ep. 311, 339, 438, 552); Anatolius told to enjoy lovely B in 355 AD. Consularis Syriae, 349. Vic. Asianiae 352; PPO Illyrici 357–60. *Artemon of Antioch, 354. *Theodorus 11 of Arabia, 358. later gov in Asiana. *Paeonius of Antioch, 359/360. *Silvanus of Antioch, 359. *Anonymous of Euboea, 360.

Julian II 361–363	*Domninus, 361.	*Flavianus of Bithynia, 361. *Hilarinus, 361. *Scylacius, 361. *Hermogenus of Antioch whose bro. *Theodotus ran away from Antioch, 363
Jovian 363–364	*Domninus, teacher, 364. *Megithius, lawyer, 364. *Scylacius, native of Greece, in Ph. in 363, and a teacher of law in 364	*Apringius of CP, 364. *Palladius of Pamphylia, 365. *Peregrinus of Tarsus in Cilicia, 365
Valens 364–378 (Procopius) 365		
Theodosius 379–395	*Sebastianus 3, ?teacher, 388. *Celsinus 3, ?vicar of a province. lived in B after marrying daughter of Julianus 20 (388). *Julianus 20 native of B; held several posts; maybe a lawyer. *Argeius 391.	*Scylacius, son ?of teacher, 391
Arcadius 395–408		
Theodosius II 408–450		
Marcian 450–457	Auxonius, E's bro., an 'interpreter of the law' when Timothy Aelurus of Alexandria & bro. Anatolius were passing through to exile (?460). Did he teach as early as 448? *Chronique syriaque*	
Leo I 457–474		
Leo II 474		
Zeno 474–491 (Basiliscus 475–476) (Fl. Marcian 479) (Ilus and Leontius 484)	+Leontius 20 (PLRE II) law professor; son of Eudoxius 4 and father of Anatolius (PLRE III). CJ 1.17.2.9, Vie 47; his classes were attended by both Zach. 4 and Severus in the late 480s. Vie 47, 66–7, 68, 73. Charged with magic but restored to his position	Anastasius 3 (PLRE II); studied law at B 4 yrs and then met Sev. and Zach.; from Edessa, went to Peter of Iberia. Joh, Ruf. Pleroph. 71; Vie 55, 83, 96; His uncle Anon. 82 was gov. of Ph. *c.* 490 when he bec. a monk with Peter of Iberia in Maiuma, Gaza. Severus, student, 486, b. 465 Zacharias of Mytilene; see Vie for more names

Emperors (Eastern Empire)	*Lawyers/professors*	*Law students*
Anastasius I 491–518	+Eudoxius 4 (PLRE II) Father of Leontius 20, g'f of Anatolius; famous lawyer who taught at B. CJ1.17.2.9; Vie 47. Presumably identical to jurist Eudoxius whose opinions were cited by 6th c commentators on CJ Basilica 11.2.25, 35; 21.3.4; 22.1.43; 47.1.72 (Heimbach I, pp. 696, 704, II, pp. 454, 489, IV, p. 593). The five lived no later than the reign of Anastasius, Basilica 11.2.27. +Cyrillus 2- called 'teacher of the world' Basilica 11.1.12, 67; 29.5.24.7. (Heimbach I, pp. 583, 646, III 474) He taught at Berytus Basilica, schol. 54 , Heimbach , Suppl, I, p.211) +Demosthenes 2; cited by Thalelaeus and Theodorus, 6th cen commentators on CJ (PLRE III); Basilica 8.2.79, 84; 12.2.20, Heimbach I, pp. 403, 405, 692). He taught either at B or CP. +Domninus 5, cited by Thalelaeus and Theodorus, 6th century commentators on CJ (PLRE III); Basilica 8.2.79;47.1.60 Heimbach I, pp. 403, IV, p. 585). He taught either at B or CP. +Patricius 10 [is this the one of the inscription?] 'Inclutae recordationis quaestorius et antecessor' (i.e., a famous prof of law and an honorary QSP [quaestor sacri palatii] [East]; he was the father of Leontius 23 (II) and evidently dead by 533: CJ 1.17.2.9 (Dec. 16, 533); presumably same as jurist Patricus whose opinions were cited by Thalelaeus and Theodorus, 6th century commentators on CJ (PLRE III); Basilica 8.2.79, 84; 11.167, 70; 11.2.20, 23; 47.1.60, etc. Heimbach I, pp. 403, 405, 646, 649, 692, 695, IV 585). Not stated where he taught	

Justin I 518–527		
Justinian I 527–565	professors of law (?533). +Leontius 22 PPO Orientis, 510; *vir gloriosissimus praefectorius et consularis et patricius* (533). +Dorotheus 4, teacher 530-534, *vir illustris et facundissimus antecessor* (533); *virum magnificum quaestorium et Beryti legum doctorem Dorotheum* (534). +Anatolius, also worked on CJ (533); father Leontius and grandfather Eudoxius also left excellent rep in legal learning	student curriculum; student misbehavior; students died in earthquake of 551

APPENDIX IV
Coins attributed to the mint in Berytus
Compiled from the online catalog of the American Numismatics Society

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
Alexander II 128–123 BC	Bust of king, r. [ANS 1944.100.77135–7]	Poseidon holding patera and trident; BA I E/A E AN POY; symbols: lambda A in l. reverse field, symbols in r. reverse field
123–116 BC	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70112, 27–8; 1971.193.48]	Astarte wearing long chiton, standing l. prow; in r., aphlastron, l. hand on hip
123–110 BC	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70123–4]	Baal–Berit standing in car drawn by 4 hippocamps; in r., phiale, in l. trident
	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.688–696]	Baal–Berit standing in car drawn by 4 hippocamps; in r., phiale, in l. trident; in field, aphlaston l., BH r.
109–31 BC	Turreted bust of Tyche r., wearing veil [ANS1992.54.702]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident between pilei of Dioscuri; ethnic & date (LI)
	Turreted bust of Tyche r., wearing veil [ANS 1992.54.703]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident between pilei of Dioscuri; ethnic & date (LK)
	Turreted bust of Tyche r., wearing veil [ANS 1992.54.697–701, 6–8]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident between pilei of Dioscuri; ethnic in 2 lines
	Turreted bust of Tyche r., wearing veil [ANS 1992.54.704–5, 9	Dolphin entwined around upright trident between pilei of Dioscuri; ethnic
	Turreted bust of Tyche r., wearing veil; CTMK with square containing head & neck of bull l.; HP between horns [ANS 1992.54.710–16]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident between pilei of Dioscuri; ethnic in 2 lines

100 BC–1 AD	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70129–36; 1948.19.2129]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident, between pilei of Dioscuri
	Marsyas standing l.,wineskin over l. shoulder [ANS 1944.100.70145–6, 56–8; 1952.142.393]	Prow of galley, r.; above, legend BER
61–60 BC	Bust of Tyche, r. square CTMK head of bull, l., with letters between horns [ANS 1923.150.226; 1944.100.70133–5; 1961.154.222]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident, between pilei of Dioscuri
	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70137]	Nike standing r. on prow holding wreath in r.
51–29 BC	Bust of Cleopatra, r. [ANS 1944.100.70154–5]	Athena marching l., shield in l., spear in r.
31 BC	Bust of Cleopatra, r., with diadem and necklace [ANS 1944.100.70148–51]	Head of Marcus Antonius, r.
	Bust of Cleopatra, r., with diadem and necklace [ANS 1944.100.70152–53]	Nike flying r., holding long palm branch in hands behind head; wreath border
31–14 BC	Head of Poseidon (Baal–Berit) r., wearing low kalathos; at l. shoulder, trident [ANS 1944.100.70144, 7]	Nike walking r., with palm in outstretched hands behind head
	Turreted bust of Tyche, r., wearing veil [ANS 1992.54.721]	Nike r., on prow; holds wreath in extended r., in field r, aphlastron
	Bearded & laureate head of Poseidon r.; trident behind l. shoulder [ANS 1992.54.718–20]	Poseidon l. in car drawn by 4 hippocamps; in field, date & ethnic
28–27 BC	Head of Poseidon (Baal–Berit) r., bearded and laureate [ANS 1944.100.70138–40]	Poseidon (Baal–Berit) l., in car drawn by 4 hippocamps
	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70141–2]	Nike, r. on prow; in r., wreath; palm over left shoulder
	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70143]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident; between pilei of Dioscuri mounted by stars
	Head of Poseidon (Baal–Berit) r., CTMK [ANS 1953.171.1644]	Poseidon (Baal–Berit) l., in car drawn by 4 hipposcamps CTMK

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
14 BC–14 AD	Head of Augustus, l., CAESAR inscribed l. [ANS 1944.100.70200, 2; 19614.108.3; 1984.66.484]	Dolphin entwined around trident, laurel wreath border
	Head of Augustus [ANS 1944.100.70201]	Dolphin entwined around trident, laurel wreath border
	Lituus [ANS 1944.100.70205]	Inscription AVG?
	Bare head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS [ANS 1993.3.1]	Pontiff driving two bulls l. For lustration; COL IVL
31–14 BC	Head of Augustus, r., CAESAR inscribed r. [ANS 1944.100.69813]	Dolphin entwined around trident, laurel wreath border
14 BC to 98 AD or 100 AD	Nike walking l., carrying wreath in extended r., palm branch over l. shoulder [ANS 1944.100.70191–9; 1952.142.397]	Lituus between inscribed CB
	Nike advancing r., carrying wreath in extended r. [ANS 1992.54.759]	Lituus hooking r. between C & B
14 BC to 100 AD	Bust of Tyche, r. [ANS 1944.100.70159–60]	Nike walking r.; in r., crown; in l., palm branch on shoulder
	Marsyas standing l., wineskin over l. shoulder [ANS 1961.154.224]	Prow of galley r.; above, legend
	Marsyas standing l., wineskin over l. shoulder; letter L to his l. [ANS 1944.100.70161, 3–70186; 1948.19.2130; 1952.142.394–6]	Prow of galley r.; above, legend
	Marsyas standing l., wineskin over l. shoulder; letters CO to his r., letter L to his l. [ANS 1944.100.70187]	Prow of galley r.; above, legend
	Letter L? [ANS 1944.100.70188]	Prow of galley r.; above, legend
	Silenus standing r., carrying wineskin over l. shoulder, r. hand extended [ANS 1944.100.70189–90; 1961.154.225]	CB inscribed within wreath

31 BC–14 AD	Head of Augustus, r., CAESAR inscribed l. behind head [ANS 1944.100.70203]	COL IVL inscribed in laurel wreath enclosed between 2 linear lines
	Head of Augustus, r. [ANS 1938.127.201, 4]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to l., with ox and cow; inscribed COLL
	Eagle, l., within dot border [ANS 1944.100.70206–9]	Inscription AVG
Augustus 29 BC to 14 AD	Head of Augustus, r., inscribed IMP CAESAR [ANS 1944.100.70211]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to l., with ox and cow; inscribed COL IVL
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS [ANS 1944.100.70210]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to l., with ox and cow; inscribed COL IVL
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS [ANS 1992.54.779]	Male veiled figure, plowing r, with 2 oxen; COL IVL; at l, BER
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS, fillet border [ANS 1944.100.70217–20; 1948.19.2131]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to l., with ox and cow; inscribed above COL IVL
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS [ANS 1992.54.772–8, 80]	Male veiled figure, plowing l. with 2 oxen
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS [ANS 1944.100.70212, 14–16, 31; 1992.54.781–6]	2 legionary eagles between 2 military standards; P QVINCTILIVS VARVS
11–14 AD	head of Augustus, l.; inscribed DIVUS AUGUSTUS [ANS 1944.100.70213] compare below to Tiberius issue; misidentified?	2 legionary eagles facing bet. 2 standards; inscribed COL above a V, top; bottom, BER above VIII [reference to founding legions]
	head of Augustus, l. [ANS 1944.100.70232]	2 legionary eagles facing on standards; inscribed above, V; below, BER atop VIII
	Head of Augustus, r.; IMP inscribed behind head [ANS 1944.100.70222–3]	2 legionary eagles facing; inscribed around
	Head of Augustus, r. [ANS 1944.100.70235]	2 legionary eagles facing on 2 standards
	Head of Augustus, r.; CTMK, prow [ANS 1944.100.70221]	2 legionary eagles facing on 2 standards; legend around
	Eagle, l. [ANS 1944.100.70224, 6–7;1948.19.2132; 1991.60.48]	SIL ANVS around AVG
	Eagle with wings spread to l. [ANS 1992.54.769–71]	AVG surrounded by SIL ANVS

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
14 AD	Laureate head of Augustus, l.; CAESAR [ANS 1992.54.760–1]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident
	Laureate head of Augustus, r.; CAESAR [ANS 1992.54.762–3]	Dolphin entwined around upright trident
	Eagle with wings spread to l. [ANS 1992.54.764–8]	AVG
14–98 AD	Silenus standing l., carrying wineskin over shoulder; in field, COL [ANS 1992.54.722–58]	Prow of galleyr.; above, BER
Tiberius 14–37	Head of Tiberius, r.; TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT [ANS 1992.54.780]	2 legionary eagles between 2 military standards; PERM SIL
	Head of Tiberius, r., inscription TI CAESAR [ANS 1944.10.6; 1944.100.70243–4]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r., with ox and cow; inscription above, COL IVL
	Head of Tiberius, r.; TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT VII [ANS 1992.54.787]	Male veiled figure, plowing r. with 2 oxen; COL IVL
	Head of Tiberius, r., inscribed l. to r. IMP [ANS 1944.100.70225]	2 legionary eagles facing on standards; inscribed V SIL
	head of Augustus, l.; inscribed DIVOS AUGUSTUS [ANS 1944.100.70233–4]	2 legionary eagles facing between 2 standards; inscribed COL above a V, top; bottom, BER above VIII
Caligula 37–41		
Claudius 41–54	Head of Claudius, l.; TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG IMP [ANS 1944.100.70247–50; 1961.154.226–7; 1984.66.312, 790; 1992.54.790–4]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow [or 2 oxen]; COL IVL AVG
	Head of Claudius, l. [ANS 1944.100.70253; 1961.15.1; 1961.125.1]	2 legionary eagles bet. 2 standards
	Head of Claudius, l. [ANS 1944.100.70245–6]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscribed DIVOS [ANS 1944.100.70236]	2 legionary eagles holding wreath in beaks, between 2 standards; inscribed

Nero 54–68		
Vespasian 69–79	Head of Vespasian, r. [ANS 1944.100.70254, 56]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow
Domitian 81–96		
Titus 79–81	Head of Titus, l. [ANS 1944.100.70255, 57–59]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow; inscription around
Nerva 96–98	Head of Nerva, r. [ANS 1944.100.70260–3]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow; inscription around
	Head of Nerva, r. [ANS 1944.100.70264]	Poseidon, standing l., r. foot on prow; r. hand holding dolphin, l. on trident
Trajan 98–117 (Marcus Ulpius Traianus) Cass. Dio 68; Pliny, Pan., Ep.; Aur. Vict.; inscriptions	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OP AVG GER DAC PP Laureate head of Trajan, r. [ANS 1944.100.70276, 87; 1961.154.228; 1992.54.797–802]	COL BER Poseidon standing l. with r foot on prow, holding dolphin in r. & trident in l.
	Head of Trajan, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.70266–70, 79, 80–86; 1948.19.2135; 1992.795–6]	Founder, veiled, ploughing r. with ox and cow; inscription around; COL IVL AVG FEL BER on some
	Head of Trajan, r., laureate; inscription around [ANS 1944100.70289–90]	Astarte, facing in tetrastyle temple, standard in r., crowned by small Nike
	Head of Trajan, r. [ANS 1944.100.70272–5]	2 legionary eagles between 2 standards; separated by vert. Inscribed V VIII
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscribed l. to r. DIVOS AUGUSTUS [ANS 1944.100.70228]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r. with ox and cow; inscribed (clockwise) COL above IVL, AVG FEL (?), and BER
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscribed around is DIVUS AUGUSTUS [ANS 1944.100.70229]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r. with ox and cow; inscribed above COL IVL
	Head of Augustus, r.; AUGUSTUS inscribed r. [ANS 1944.100.70230]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r. with ox and cow; inscribed above COL over IVL; behind founder, BER
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscription around [ANS 1944.100.70237]	Poseidon standing l., r. ft. on prow; holds dolphin on r. knee in r. hand; trident in l.; inscription
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscription around [ANS 1944.100.70238–40]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r. with ox and cow; inscription around
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscribed DIVOS [ANS 1948.19.2133]	Founder, veiled, ploughing to r. with ox and cow; inscription around
	Head of Augustus, r.; inscription around [ANS 1944.100.70241]	2 legionary eagles on 2 standards; inscription between
	Head of Tiberius, r.; inscription around [ANS 1944.100.70242]	2 legionary eagles on 2 standards; inscription between

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
Hadrian 117–138	Head of Hadrian, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; inscribed [ANS 1938.94.25–6; 1944.100.70291–702303; 1948.19.2136–9; 1961.154.229]	2 legionary eagles within a laurel wreath; COL BER inscribed between
	Head of Hadrian, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; IMP CAES TRAI HADRIANVS AVG PP [ANS 1992.54.803–9]	2 legionary eagles within a laurel wreath; COL BER
	Hadrian head [ANS 1984.66.412, 469]	Two eagles on pole within wreath
Antoninus Pius 138–161	Head of Antoninus Pius, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.70304–5]	Astarte, facing, in tetrastyle temple; in r., standard, Nike crowning on r.
	Head of Antoninus Pius, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.70306–11; 1999.32.30]	Poseidon on l., with r. foot on prow; in l., trident, in r., dolphin
	Bust of Antoninus Pius, l., laureate, wearing paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.70312]	Veiled founder, ploughing r., with 2 oxen; COL IVL AVG in 2 lines; FEL BER exergue
	Head of Antoninus Pius, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.70313; 1948.19.2140]	
Marcus Aurelius 161–180	Head of Lucius Verus, r., laureate; inscription around [ANS 1944.100.70314–21; 1948.19.2141]	Head of Marcus Aurelius, r., laureate; inscription around
	Bust of Marcus Aurelius, r., with letters MAC to r. [ANS 1961.154.223]	Dolphin entwined with upright trident
Commodus 180–192	Bust of Commodus, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.70322–7; 1948.19.2142]	Astarte, facing, in tetrastyle temple; in r., standard, Nike crowning on r.
	Bust of Commodus, r., radiate, wearing paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.70328–31]	Poseidon l., r. foot on rock; trident in r., dolphin in l.
	Bust of Commodus, r., radiate, wearing paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.70332–4]	SEC SAEC around laurel wreath; within, 2 legionary eagles; below, COL BER in 2 lines [SEC SAEC secundum saeculum, 200th anniversary of the founding of the colony; could this help with the date?]

Septimius Severus, L. 193–211	Bust of Severus, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.70336]	
Julia Domna 193–217 [Augusta in 193, mother of the camp in 195; under Caracalla, mother of the senate and the fatherland; Cass. Dio 73–9; SHA Sev., M.Ant., OCD3, 777]	Bust of Domna, r., draped [ANS 1944.100.72322; 1948.19.2253–4]	2 legionary eagles with inscription between; the whole in wreath
	Bust of Domna, r., draped, hair falling on neck [ANS 1944.100.72323–7; 1948.19.2255]	Astarte, facing, r. holding standard, l. holding folds of dress; within tetrastyle temple with stairs, to r., Nike on small column crowning
Septimius Severus and Caracalla	Bust of Severus, r., laureate, inscription around [ANS 1938.127.220; 1944.100.72271–4; 1947.97.574]	Bust of young Caracalla, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass, on eagle standing
	Bust of Severus, r., laureate, inscription around [ANS 1980.19.4]	Bust of young Caracalla, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass
	Confronted busts of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, both wearing paludamentum; IMPP CAESS SEVER ANT AVGG [ANS 1992.54.810–2]	Poseidon, standing l., r. foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident
	Confronted busts of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, both wearing paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.74952]	Poseidon, standing l., r. foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident
	bust of Septimius Severus, l., and young Caracalla, r., confronted, laureate, and wearing paludamentum and cuirass [ANS 1938.127.221; 1944.100.72320–1; 1947.97.575]	Poseidon, standing l., r. foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident
	bust of Septimius Severus, l., and young Caracalla, r., confronted, laureate, and wearing paludamentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72275; 1944.100.72316–9; 1948.19.2251–2; 1961.154.279]	Tetrastyle temple with stairs; inside, Astarte, facing, r. hand holding standard, l. hand holding folds of dress; to r., Nike on small column crowning

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
Caracalla (Aurelius Antoninus, M. 1) 211–217	Bust of Caracalla, r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass [Julia Domna, ANS 1944.100.72328]	Poseidon, standing l., r. foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident
	Bust of Caracalla, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.72329–30; 1948.19.2256]	Poseidon, draped and wearing kalathos, standing to front (head l.) in car drawn by 4 hippocamps; in r., dolphin, in l., trident
	Bust of Caracalla, r., laureate [ANS 1944.100.72331–9; 1944.86.5]	Astarte, facing, r. holding standard, l. holding folds of dress; within tetrastyle temple with stairs, to r., Nike on small column crowning
	Laureate bust of Caracalla, r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; IMP M AVREL ANT FEL BER [ANS 1992.54.813–5]	Tetrastyle temple containing Astarte being crowned by Nike; pellet in pediment; COLIVL ANT FEL BER [does this suggest that Caracalla gave some extra privileges to the colony?]
	Bust laureate r. with draped l. shoulder; AVT KAI ANTONINOS SE [ANS 1944.100.72123–30]	Eagle standing r., head l. wreath in beak; between legs, prow l.; DEMARCH EX VPATOS TO 4
Geta (Septimius Geta, P., 2) 211–212	Bust of Geta, r. bare, wearing paludamentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72340]	2 legionary eagles; between then COL BER; all in wreath
Macrinus (M. Opellius Macrinus) 217–218 [assassin of Caracalla; Herodian 4.14–5; Dio Cass. 78, OCD3]	Bust of Macrinus, r. laureate, wearing cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72341–2]	Astarte facing, in tetrastyle temple with stairs
	Bust of Macrinus, r. laureate, wearing cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72343]	Hexastyle temple, steps leading up; inside Poseidon, nude, l.
	Bust of Macrinus, r., wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72344–6; 1948.19.2257]	Tetrastyle temple; inside Astarte, facing, holding dress and standard
	Bust of Macrinus, to r. laureate, with paludamentum [ANS 1944.100.72570]	Hexastyle temple, steps leading up; inside statue of Poseidon
	Head laureate, r.; AVT K MOP SE MAKREINOS [ANS 1944.100.72131]	Eagle standing r. head l., wreath in beak; between legs, three grain stalks; in ex., dolphin around trident; DEMARCH EX VPATOS
Diadumenian 217–218	Bust of Diadumenian, r., wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72347–8]	Tetrastyle temple; inside Astarte, facing, holding dress and standard

Elegabalus 218–222 (Aurelius Antoninus, M., 2) son of Sextus Varius Marcellus and Julia Soaemias Bassiana, niece of Julia Domna; born as Varius Avitus Bassianus; known as name above as natural son of Caracalla; Cass. Dio. 78–9; Herodian 5, SHA Heliogabal.; OCD3.	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1941.131.1029; 1944.100.72349–60; 1961.154.280]	Tetrastyle temple; Astarte standing, front, holding standard; r., Nike on column crowning, dolphins
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72361–75; 1948.19.2258.1955.149.9]	Arch with statue of Marsyas
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72376–84; 1961.154.282]	Poseidon grasping Beroe
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72385]	Victory advancing r., holding standard; to r., prow, 2 people seated with standard (?)
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72386–90; 1948.19.2259]	Eshmum standing to the front; snakes on both sides
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72391–94]	Poseidon standing in galley, r. leg raised; holds dolphin and trident
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72395]	The 8 Kabeiroi seated l. in circle, draped, r. hand raised; in ex. galley
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72396–8; 1961.154.283]	Aeneas running l. with Anchises on shoulders, in r. holding Ascanius in Phrygian cap
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72399–400]	Astarte, facing, standing on galley with steersman; r. holding standard, l. holding folds of dress; to r., on small column, Nike crowning, to r., military standard
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72401–2; 1961.154.284]	Tetrastyle temple with steps; inside Poseidon l., r. foot on rock, holding trident and dolphin
	Bust of Elagabalus, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72403–8]	Hexastyle temple with steps; inside Poseidon l., r. foot on rock, holding trident and dolphin
	Arch with statue of Marsyas [ANS1961.154.281]	Arch with statue of Marsyas

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
Julia Maesa 218–222 (sister of Julia Domna, g'mother of Elagabalus, made Augusta in 218, switched support to other grandson, Severus Alexander in 221/2, OCD3, Cassius Dio 78–79, Herodian 5)	Diademed bust of Julia Maesa r. [ANS 1944.100.72409]	Victory (?)r., l. foot on rock (?), facing veiled figure presenting caduceus
Severus Alexander 222–235 (Aurelius Severus Alexander, M.)		
Maximinus 235–238		
Gordian III 238–244 (Antonius Gordianus, M.) emperor at age 13, died after battle at Ctesiphon; seen as successor to Severi, OCD3	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass; IMP GORDIANVS AVG [ANS 1992.54.816–7]	Dionysus, nude but for nebris over l. shoulder; standing front with head l.; holding rhyton, in l. thyros; at feet panther looking up; COL IVL AVG FEL BER
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1930.3.11; 1944.100.72427–35; 1948.19.2262–3]	Dionysus, nude but for nebris over l. shoulder; standing front with head l.; holding rhyton, in l. thyros; at feet panther looking up
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72423–5; 1948.19.2261]	Dionysus, nude, standing front, head l.; embracing satyr standing l.; to l., panther; on either side, vine with grapes
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72426]	Dionysus, nude, standing front, head l.; satyr moving r., carrying lagobolon; to l., panther; on either side, vine with grapes
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72410–2; 1961.154.285]	Tetrastyle temple of Astarte, with steps; within, bust of Astarte flanked by cornucopias and military eagle; on roof, akroteria; below lion walking r.
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1934.94.16; 1944.100.72420–2; 1948.2260]	Tetrastyle temple of Astarte, with steps; within, bust of Astarte flanked by cornucopias and military eagle; on roof, akroteria; in exergue, dolphin r.
	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72413–8]	Tetrastyle temple of Astarte, with steps; within, bust of Astarte flanked by cornucopias and military eagle; on roof, akroteria; in exergue, galley r.

	Bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72436–9; 1948.19.2264]	Poseidon standing l.; holding dolphin and trident; with foot on rock
	Bust of Gordian III, r., emperor laureate; wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72440]	Poseidon standing l.; chlamys over left shoulder; holding dolphin and trident, with foot on rock
	Bust of Gordian III, r., radiate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72441–4]	2 legionary eagles; between them COL BER in 2 lines
Philip 244–249		
Trajan Decius 249–251		
Trebonianus Gallus 251–253		
Valerian 252–260 (Licinius Valerianus, P.) Elderly senator; co-Augustus with son Gallienus; died in captivity in Persia OCD3	Bust of Valerian, r.; laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1938.127.222; 1944.100.72445–9; 1948.19.2265; 1984.66.473]	Astarte standing front with head r.; l. foot on prow; r. hand has standard, l. hand holds aphlastron and lifts folds of dress; to r. Nike on column, crowning
	Bust of Valerian, r.; radiate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72450]	Lion walking r., inscriptions above and in exergue
Gallienus 253–268 (Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, P.) son of Valerian; PLRE 1.383f.; OCD3	Bust of Gallienus, r.; laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72451–3, 5]	Astarte standing front with head r.; l. foot on prow; r. hand has standard, l. hand holds aphlastron and lifts folds of dress; to r. Nike on column, crowning
	Bust of Gallienus, r.; radiate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72454, 6–7; 1948.29.3366]	Astarte standing front with head r.; l. foot on prow; r. hand has standard, l. hand holds aphlastron and lifts folds of dress; to r. Nike on column, crowning
	Bust of Gallienus, r.; laureate, wearing paludmentum and cuirass [ANS 1944.100.72458–60; 1961.154.287]	Lion walking l.; inscriptions around
Salonina 253–268	Bust of Salonina, r.; wearing stephane [ANS 1944.100.72461–4; 1945.68.4]	Astarte standing front with head r.; l. foot on prow; r. hand has standard, l. hand holds aphlastron and lifts folds of dress; to r. Nike on column, crowning
	Bust of Salonina, r.; wearing stephane [ANS 1944.100.72465]	Lion walking l.; inscriptions around

Ruler and/or era	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
Claudius II Gothicus 268–270		
Aurelian 270–275		
Tacitus 275–276		
Probus 276–282		
Carus 282–283		
Diocletian 284–305		
Galerius 305–311		
Licinius 308–324		
Constantine I 324–337		
Constantius II 337–361		
Julian II 361–363		
Jovian 363–364		
Valens 364–378 (Procopius) 365		
Theodosius 379–395		
Arcadius 395–408		
Theodosius II 408–450		
Marcian 450–457		
Leo I 457– 474		
Leo II 474		
Zeno 474–491 (Basiliscus 475–476) (Fl. Marcian 479) (Ilus and Leontius 484)		
Anastasius I 491–518		
Justin I 518–527		

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